September 15, 1952
Cleveland, Ohio

MEMO SAC

[redacted] furnished the writer on July 17, 1952 the following b7D
items of literature received by informant at the Civil Rights Congress National Board Meeting, Chicago on July 9, 1952:

1. A one page mimeographed sheet containing information for the delegates to the National Board Meeting.

2. A 29 page mimeographed report of the National Executive Secretary for the meeting of the National Executive Board, Civil Rights Congress, Chicago, July 7, 1952. This 29 page report is, of course, that of WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, National Executive Secretary, Civil Rights Congress.

3. A 15 page mimeographed approved report of the National Organizational Secretary for the meeting of the National Board of the Civil Rights Congress, Chicago, July 7, 1952. This approved report has attached to it, two mimeographed pages of draft resolutions by the Civil Rights Congress on genocide against the negro people and on Puerto Rico.

These items will be filed in the informant's file 66-35 Sub 264 Sub A.

[redacted] b6
SA b7C

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66-35 Sub 264 SA-205

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Rec 7-9-52

Delegates' Information

CRC NATIONAL BOARD MEETING

1. All Board sessions will be held at the office of the Fur Workers Union, 1405 West Cortez Street, ~~except (a) the dinner discussion on the evening of July 7, which will be held at~~ _____, and (b) the sessions after 6:00 PM on July 8th, which will be held at the ASP center, 946 North Clark.

2. While the agenda shows only three days of business (July 7, 8 and 9) it is believed that very important matters may have to be taken up on July 10th and they may occupy the entire day. Please take this into account in making your plans.

3. All sessions, whether the first each day or after mealtimes, will start at the time set, whether many delegates are present or not. This is an absolute necessity, because we will still have too little time for the business requiring our attention. Chicago is a big city and unfamiliar to many of you, so allow yourself lots of time to get to the sessions.

4. Take up all problems with a member of the Credentials and Procedures Committee, which is composed of Arthur McPhaul, John Daschbach, John Holton and Aubrey Grossman.

5. The Official Secretary of the Board meeting is Jack Zucker. See him if you missed a session or some action taken by the Board.

6. Orders for literature should be given to the person manning the literature table.

7. We have arranged for sample copies of civil rights pamphlets published by various organizations. Take only one of each unless permission is given by the person manning the literature table.

8. During the Board sessions, only one meeting will take place at any one time; therefore, all back-of-the-room discussions or hallway deliberations will have to be postponed till mealtime.

9. Make it your business to get acquainted with and absorb the experiences of as many of the delegates as you possibly can.

10. If you need, or can provide, transportation home, take this up with one of the Credentials and Procedures Committee.

Rec. 7-9-52 Rec'd Ans 7-17-52 J.B.

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REPORT OF NATIONAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY for the
MEETING OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD - CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
Chicago July 7, 1952

# #

Few people will deny that this historic moment in which we meet is one of decisive significance in the political life of our country and of the world. . . . . Clearly, the nature of today's world and that of the future is being decided. The stress and strain of political struggle is everywhere to be seen and felt. Questions of constitutional rights and human dignity hold a dominant political place in our country. Millions will meet a premature death if the war now being waged spreads to global proportions.

But in the approaches to and the analysis of these vital issues we find conflicts and differences. Those leaders of the people who are neither seduced nor corrupted seek a peoples' peace. They seek a democratic relationship between all peoples that is not determined by the color of skin, religion, nationality or political belief. Reaction is seeking to crush the people's will for democracy, peace and justice. It is seeking desperately to divert the attention of the people from their basic interest in peace and democratic procedure. The struggle waged on every front brings terrific burdens and problems to the people. The mounting of the people's resistance movements throws those who profit by war into a desperate frenzy against the people's leaders and their organizations.

That is the general situation confronting us as we meet, as the Board of the Civil Rights Congress, to decide the future of the Board itself, to review our work and policies and, from the most exacting analysis and criticism, to map out a program of action, our campaigns and the ways, means and methods of solving the problems and the tasks we face.

THE STRUGGLES ARE OF A DECISIVE CHARACTER

We of CRC occupy a vital front of battle. Our country is entering ever more deeply into great political struggles. In its totality reaction's program means war abroad and fascism at home. It relentlessly pursues this course and nothing will stop it save the mobilized and organized will of the people for democracy and peace. The fundamental questions at issue are democracy and peace. In both, constitutional liberties, civil and human rights are basic factors. If the people can be driven through fear or by trickery to desert their heritage of free speech, press and assembly, they must and will lose.

In support of this conclusion, let me quote from the address of Bishop Paul B. Kern recently made to the Quadrennial General Conference of the Methodist Church held in San Francisco. Bishop Kern warned all Americans who have ears with which to hear or eyes with which to see that "vicious efforts to regiment thought and curb freedom of speech" are being made in the United States. He held further that "This pressure denies liberty to men who by independence of thought claim the right to criticize the status quo and seek to improve it within the framework of the democratic process." His conclusion is of inestimable value to all who love liberty and are ready to defend it. He said, "This demagoguery smears the names of honest men by unfounded charges of traitorous connections. Rumor peddlers, enjoying Congressional and legislative immunity or hiding behind innuendoes or hearsay evidence, break down confidence in our society and throttle the free voice of free men."

Either the American people will maintain inviolate and extend those ideas and principles of constitutional government and respect for human rights left us by Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the long line of champions of the people's cause who stood beside them, or we face fascism, the concentration camps now being prepared in California and Arizona for those who will not be throttled, and the immeasurable horrors of an atomic world war.

Either the people successfully wage fierce democratic struggles to save their Declaration of Independence, their Bill of Rights and their Emancipation Proclamation, or worse than that which happened in Nazi Germany will happen here.

Reaction is playing upon and loosing the darkest passions of the most backward elements. Slander, character assassination, and the smearing of men before their neighbors and abroad are an incitement to greater violence. These things bear no relation to freedom of speech. They are permitted because they arouse in the most backward elements hatred and lust. Thus, in the press, the school, on the radio, wherever evil men in power control the avenues of propaganda, frantic efforts are being made to confuse and deceive the people and to lure them into actions destructive of their own best interests and of democatic procedure.

THE PEOPLE ARE PREPARING FOR THE BATTLE

It is clear, then, that our place is with the people. The strength of the people, of the laboring masses, the Negro people, the broad elements in the communities who belong of right among the defenders of peace and democracy, must be mobilized. The struggle is for the people. The realities of life are slowly opening the people's eyes. We must knock on every door. We must be devoid of fear in contacting the people and their organizations. Above all else, we must show the people their specific interest in any issue we present to them and not expect them to act from some moralistic and lofty principles.

From every quarter of the world, people watch the unfolding American political scene. Tens of millions, regardless of their politics, economic status, religion, nationality or color, express the belief that their immediate interests and political future will be decisively affected by the course of the struggles in the USA.

Thousands of American workers, the Negro people, leaders and laymen in the church -- such as Bishop Kern -- and community leaders are beginning to indicate in many and various ways a growing apprehension of the emnace to their interests of the Smith and McCarran laws, Taft-Hartley, the projected concentration camps, the inhuman attitude of the courts and of racist-poisoned policemen and mobs toward Negroes, the drive to spread jim crow, segregation and the ghetto, anti-Semitism and the persecution of the progressives among the foreign-born. We have their protest resolutions. Against the evils of the Smith Act we have the condemnation of Supreme Court Justices Hugo Black and William O. Douglas.

Who among us has not been heartened by the many trade union statements condemning the Smith Act and the subversive activities of the un-American Activities Committee? Who has not rejoiced at the resolutions condemning the violation of constitutional liberties and human rights coming from the Methodist Bishops in San Francisco, the Presyterian and Unitarian church conferences and innumerable Negro church gatherings? Who has not taken new courage from the spreading and widening condemnation of the character assassins, the reputation-smearers like McCarthy and his ilk? Daily, new voices for freedom ring out. These are welcome sounds to a people's defense group that thinks clearly of organization and of struggle in the interest of the people. These are the vocal part of those forces that can and must be mobilized for the struggle.

OUR PLACE AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Here is our stage. Amidst these leaders and their followers the tasks and responsibilities of the Civil Rights Congress are to be found. Here its role and policies must be determined. Here is a school in which we can learn things of inestimable value. We have had far-reaching experiences. We must draw upon them now. This meeting must outline the tactics and strategic outlook of CRC. It must bring greater clarity to its members and others, for effectiveness in the

people's struggle to maintain peace and strengthen our constitutional liberties demands clarity gained through struggle and contact with the people otherwise.

THE VALUE OF PAST PERFORMANCES

From many sides, progressive men and women have highly commended CRC for the manner in which it conducted the campaigns and struggles we have recently waged. CRC has undoubtedly added to the sum total of our democratic traditions. We have won notable victories and in the most dramatic manner brougl the world's attention to the horrors of American genocidal policy toward the Negro people. We moved hundreds of thousands. But the past is not sufficient unto the future.

Let us not forget that through it all we remained a small organization, that although we moved the Negro leaders of the Baptist church and a score of Bishops among the Methodist clergy, we did not grow numerically. We must remember that our organizational strength has never matched our prestige. We failed utterly to follow up when love and honor were bestowed upon us and to build this organization into one of great strength. Doors were opened and we did not know how to enter. Let us remember that in fact we even lost membership and chapters during this same period or immediately after. There are tremendous lessons to be learned from these facts about our methods of work and particularly our lack of organizational ability. We must recall that twice we have mounted a national offensive struggle only to lose the offensive. How and why do these disasters happen? The answers have to be found and the remedies applies. That is our responsibility.

The gravest danger looms when an offensive once gained in the struggle for liberty is lost. Then it is that the enemy attacks most fiercely, striking in many spots at once, hoping thus to create pessimism and defeatism in the people's ranks. Then it is that differences in policy grow most intense and new forms of organization are demanded. Then it is that constructive criticism must be sharpened, that the road back to the democratic offensive may be regained.

There is no set formula or blueprint for this. Courage, understanding and the will to win are needed. Learning from the past, we must not be slavish to it. We live in a changing world. Both victories and defeats must be sobering. They should lead neither to giddiness nor to defeatism. The major characteristic of the moment remains the will of the people to fight back.

Clarifying the people's will, harnessing it, directing it into channels of struggle, consolidating it organizationally after and particularly during demonstrative and dynamic democratic actions is out task and responsibility.

WHY CRC!

CRC is no accident. Events occurring toward the end of the last war indicated an approaching reactionary wave to those thinking deeply. The merger of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the International Labor Defense, and a number of statewide defense organizations was a vitally significant political and organizational step. That step was taken by foresighted, liberty-loving and patriotic Americans. They correctly interpreted the meaning of the rise of the American Liberty League, the America First Committee, the Sentinels of the Republic, the Black Legion, the reactivation of the Klan and the formation of other gangster groups that were assigned the job to incite racism, anti-Semitism, virulent nationalism and to restrict or abolish the rights of the people and destroy their organizations. It was then that the drive began to fill the people's organizations with spies.

Those who created CRC realized that only an organization of the broadest character could guarantee victories for the people. A people's defense organization that was broader than an International Labor Defense was needed. Yet the loose foundation of the new organization must be labor. In the new organization the unity of labor and the Negro people had to be realized. That was and remains of supreme importance.

History has testified to the correctness of that merger. Had CRC not been created, it would now have to be brought into being. There is proof. The anti-people's drive of the Smith and McCarran Act makers, the anti-labor drive of those who fashioned the Taft-Hartley law, the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and other terrorist groups who exist only by sufferance of Government, the un-American drive of the fascist-minded in Congress, in the courts and in the Executive branch of government against the attempts of the people to use the democratic process in protection of their interests - - all testify to the need for a people's defense organization.

Yet to prove that a CRC is needed is not to prove that the one which exists is adequate to the needs and demands of the moment. Even if it were, its leadership and the course it charts must constantly be exhaustively examined by the people through the Board. We should be the first among the examiners, the sharpest of the critics.

We have dealt with the favorable surrounding conditions for struggle. They show, despite the terror and fears that have been generated that the weaknesses and inadequacies must in the main be sought for on the inside.

However, before we come to an examination of our mistakes and weaknesses, let us present some vitally significant factors concerning the structure and policies of CRC. Acquaintance with these characteristics will not only help us to show the nature and meaning of a people's defense organization; it will help us in the drafting of its policy and plans.

WE ARE AN HISTORICALLY UNIQUE ORGANIZATION

We call the Civil Rights Congress a people's defense organization. Why?

A/ CRC is the only defender of constitutional liberties and of civil and human rights that will work together with all individuals and organizations that want to defend the people's interests on this front without inquiring into the political philosophy or beliefs of those who enter its ranks. In simple words, CRC will work together with Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, and Communists. No other defense organization will do this. We believe that to inquire into one's political belief is in violation of the Bill of Rights. Other organizations will not work together with Communists, although some will generally defend the rights of Communists. This distinction, this discrimination, this looking down on people with whom one may differ on political issues, is a splitting tactic. This is especially true when those looked down on are people who have been maligned and smeared by the violaters of civil rights. The lessons of Germany and Italy prove this statement. That "exclusiveness" will prove no less dangerous here.

CRC is a fiercely partisan organization - - a peoples organization - - but it is not the tool or property of any political party. It fights for the unity of all the people in the struggle to safeguard peace and our democratic heritage. It seeks a people's front of democratic struggle. It believes that the best defense is the people's democratic offensive.

B/ In all campaigns, cases and action programs, CRC places major importance upon the mass activities of the people. This is a Jeffersonian concept of struggle. It flows directly from the political tactics employed by Thomas Jefferson and his followers in the struggle against the Alien and Sedition Laws of the Alexander Hamilton clique. It is a Lincolnian concept. It was adopted and followed by Franklin D. Roosevelt in the battles against the "Economic Royalists." It is, therefore, essentially American and non-party. At the same time, CRC appeals to every legal agency, utilizing every statutory and tactical legal device to defend the people's interests. We employ this combination of the people's strength and legal agencies. But the courts are secondary. Complete dependence can never be placed in the courts. They are not the people's weapons. They can be depended upon only to the extent that the movement of the people indicates in an unmistakably clear fashion the direction and the power of public opinion. To this

this the courts are very sensitive. The manner in which the courts have time and again betrayed the interests of labor and of Negroes, as slaves and as a people, and those of truly oppositional political parties, is notorious. Again and again the people have been forced to note this animosity and act accordingly. Even some presidents have been forced to change the composition of reactionary courts.

CRC places major dependence upon the people and their activity. The others oppose mass activities. The dependence of the others is completely in the courts.

C/ CRC bases itself upon labor as the major social force defending constitutional liberties. This is in keeping with Abraham Lincoln's concept that "labor comes first" and that "what helps labor helps America." That is an American outlook. Dependence upon the courts is dependence in the opposite direction.

D/ CRC holds that the unity of labor and the Negro people in the struggle for the maintenance and extension of constitutional liberties and civil rights is the guarantee of successful struggle.

This position flows from the indisputable fact that labor and the Negro people are at this historic moment, in relation to the defense of constitutional rights, the most responsible and vital social groups in American life. They are the two groups reaction seeks most desperately to keep apart. They are also the most persecuted, and that by identically the same reactionary forces.

No other defense organization attaches any such importance to the unity of labor and the Negro people. Some tacitly oppose it.

E/ CRC declares that the denial of constitutional liberties, civil rights and the dignity of human beings to Negroes is a policy of government enforced through many and various forms of intimidation and terror; that jim crow and segregation and the black ghetto are endorsed by government and could not otherwise exist; that the combined terror and persecution of Negroes constitutes genocide - - a crime of government against the Negro people.

This characterization flows from a study of life itself, from the report of President Truman's Committee to Investigate Segregation in Washington, from the decision of courts condemning obviously innocent Negroes, from the openly hostile statements of officials high in government. CRC's documentation of this position in "We Charge Genocide -- the Crime of Government Against the the Negro People" has not been successfully refuted although many denials have been attempted.

All other defense organizations hold that the persecution and attempted terrorization of the Negro people is incidental and has no relation to policy or conscious design. They ignore the lack of any serious governmental interference over three-quarters of a century.

F/ CRC holds that the advocacy of lynch law and lynch justice and of anti-Semitism, racism and religious prejudices and the slander and vilification of a people or group because of color or creed is not consistent with the right of free speech but is politically and ethically immoral and a violation of the constitutional right of free speech and freedom of the press.

There are organizations in the field of defense of constitutional liberties, civil and human rights that call for defense of the "rights" of the White Circle League, the KKK, Gerald L. K. Smith, the anti-Semite and Negro-baiter and all others who seek to spew their vile slander of minorities in order to incite and provoke force and violence. They associate this filth and disease bearing bacteria with the Bill of Rights. To that degree, however they must disociate the Bill of Rights from the Preamble of the Constitution which holds that the Constitution was written in order to form a more perfect Union, to "establish justice" and here we hit the very heart of the matter "to insure domestic tranquility." How can the immoral ravings of a racist, an anti-Semite, a labor-baiter establish justice,

insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense or promote the general welfare? How can it "secure these blessings of liberty to ourselves or our posterity?" We completely divorce ourselves from the argument that Constitutional liberties, civl and human rights and the defense of human dignity lies in this direction. This is destruction of the Constitution. We categorically reject it. Many church and some organized labor groups are now coming around to the position of CRC.

G/ CRC has associated the pursuit of aggressive war with the denial of Constitutional liberties, civil and human rights. This position has grown out of the fact that such a war brings with it, as at present, far-reaching restrictions of liberties and the growth of virulent nationalism with its accompanying racial and religious hatred and the active propagation of racism.

All other defense organizations avoid this issue as they would a plague.

H/ CRC holds that the Attorney General's "subversive" list and the stigmatization of people's leaders and organizations by the Un-American Activities Committee are conscious acts of intimidation and terror instituted, as Bishop Kern said, to "throttle the free voice of free men." This is an abuse of the legislative power of Congress and the powers of the Administrative branch of government. We are the only defense organization that says, as did Henry Steele Commager in Harper's Magazine, in commenting on the Un-American Activities Committee:

> "What do men know of loyalty who make a mockery of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, whose energies are dedicated to stirring up race and class hatreds, who would straitjacket the American spirit? What, indeed, do they know of America - - the America of Sam Adams and Tom Paine, of Jackson's defiance of the Court and Lincoln's celebration of labor, of Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience and Emerson's championship of John Brown . . . ?
>
> "Who, among American heroes would meet their tests, who would be cleared by their committee?"

He answered his own question with these words:

> "Not Washington, who was a rebel. Not Jefferson, who wrote that all men are created equal and whose motto was 'rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God.'"

No other defense organization exposes this role of the branches of government and their agencies. Yet this exposure bears no relation to a political philosophy.

I/ Lastly, but of the most decisive importance, CRC holds that the defense of the constitutional rights of Communists is the first line of defense of the rights of the people.

In these characteristics, CRC is unique. In this respect the people's character of CRC reveals itself with greatest clarity. Thus, we can say that there is no other defense organization like CRC. The more nearly we adhere to these distinctive features, the more forcibly do we influence the course of other defense organizations. Thus we inspire their supporters to a greater militancy in defense of justice, constitutional liberties and civil rights.

NO FIXED CONDITIONS FOR MEMBERSHIP

While we enumerate these special features of CRC it must be said that membership is not conditioned upon acceptance of them as a credo. We are a mass membership organization. These principles have great educational value. They lead to a clarification of the true nature of the struggle to maintain and extend the people's liberties and rights. But for membership, one has only to support the given campaign or case that brought him or her into CRC or to give

support to its program, even without active participation in any campaign or action.

To demand adherence to and acceptance of these characteristics in their entirety as a condition for membership would be to take a position that would make mass development impossible. To treat of any campaign or case of CRC in such a manner as to create the impression that participation in it demanded or demands the acceptance of the whole of these features is to defeat the aim and purpose of CRC to involve the greatest possible number of people in every defense action.

We have been guilty of both mistakes. We must learn to bring forth these characteristics, to apply each where its application creates no deep disturbance to reasoning power but rather inspires a wider range of though and the acceptance of more far-reaching political action. Mistakes that separate us from the people endager the success of the campaign which may well involve a human life or the legal life of a political party,, as well as the Constitutional liberties and civil rights of the people. Our responsibilities in this respect are great indeed. The relation of the forces in the struggle to each other are always fluctuating. The struggle is for the people. A fresh impetus is always given to a struggle and new forces drawn in when the educational phase of the struggle is correctly handled. Then it is that wide sections of the masses see their interests reflected in the campaign. Thus the threat of victimization because of guilt-by-association loses its power to create fear.

THE DECISIVE CHARACTER OF NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

We have held repeatedly that the decisive key to successful struggle to defend and extend constitutional liberties, civil and human rights is the unity in the struggle of labor and the Negro people. This is a correct and basic principle of strategy. This is the road to permanent victories for the people. That indispensable alliance has never been cemented. Today it must be cemented. History demands it.

On one or another occasion, we achieved unity to some small degree for a moment or two in some specific campaign, case or issue. But unity in struggle of the masses of white and Negro is nowhere a characteristic feature of the American political scene. If it were, the scene would be entirely different.

There has been no alliance between the masses of white Americans and the Negro people since the Reconstruction unity program of the poor whites and former slaves in the Southern states was smashed by a bi-partisan coalition of the major political parties. The Klan operated then. There was open and notorious violation by the courts and other branches of government of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

The same violations are seen today. This fact testifies to the depth to which the ideas of the white supremacists have penetrated.

This unity constitutes the basic strategy of the people. We of CRC must learn how to achieve it on our front of struggle. This is our greatest responsibility An alliance of labor and the Negro people is logical and natural. They have a common foe. The cooperation of either with that foe will prevent a people's victory of any lasting character.

WHITE SUPERIORITY MYTHS

The ruling circles' myth of white superiority is deeply rooted in the whole social fabric of our country. It has created illusions among white Americans generally and even among white workers that they can win constitutional liberties, civil and human rights of an enduring character for themselves without the aid and support of the Negro people. Monopoly exclusion of the Negro workers from many industries was calculated to deepen this impression and did deepen it.

White labor has never felt that the political demands of the Negro people for equal rights and opportunities are of concern to labor. It has been led to believe in divisibility of democracy. It has been taught that some may enjoy democracy while others are denied its benefits. Some even in the ranks of labor have been led, by reactionary tools in education and by other hatemongers, to believe that they gain advantages to the degree that other minorities are deprived of constitutional and civil rights and denied respect as human beings. Jim crow, segregation and the ghetto deepen this impression.

Such are the lengths to which the system of jim crow and segregation, terror and violence, and the denial by the ruling cliques of the most elementary human dignity to Negroes has corrupted the thinking and shattered the moral strength of millions of white Americans. They have been led to accept the racist philosophy of the creators of labor injunctions, the Smith Act and Taft-Hartley law, the jim crow church as their own and as in their interests.

CRC has persistently fought these views - but not always correctly.

A COMMON FOE

The organized labor body of men, women and youth is the largest group victimized by repressive legislation, cynically vicious court decisions and executive decrees that restrict labor's area of democratic struggle.

The attitude of the legislature, the courts and the executive branch of Government toward the Negro people is most inhuman. In terms of resistance to oppression, of demands for fundamental chages and of struggle, the Negro people constitute at this moment the spearhead of the progressive forces. Justice William O. Douglas has described the position of the peoples of Asia in language that could in a certain measure be applied to the Negro people in the U.S.A. Douglas said:

"Powerful forces are boiling up from the bottom. People are resolved to escape from the misery of their poverty and disease. No power on earth can stop them." Then he added that there is developing "a burning concept of equality for the colored races, a resolve to restore the colored people to a place of dignity and respect." He charged the rulers of the USA with responsibility. Most of this could be applied to this country with the same rulers responsible. Thus, it is clear that the struggles of the Negro people is merging with the struggles waged by the colored peoples for an end to racism and equality of rights.

Although it will take some time, we should review the efforts that have been made to gain results of value to the whole people around this fundamental issue of labor-Negro unity. The question cannot be by-passed. It is not a stage of development that we can jump over. It has to be faced. It has to be mastered. We must make great contribution in this field, growing out of experiences on the defense front. A short survey of history is necessary.

BEHIND THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

In days gone by we learned through splendid defense struggles how to create a degree of working class solidarity. People were mobilized in the fight to save the Mollie Maguires, who were murdered in the 1870's by the mine owners and their government in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania. When the five Haymarket heroes, leaders of the fight for an eight-hour day for American labor, were legally lunched in Chicago in the 1880's, thousands were aroused. When Bill Haywood and other leaders of the Western Federation of Miners were tried in Idaho in 1907 for murder, people were mobilized to save them. In 1916 we mobilized tens of thousands to defend the lives of Tom Mooney and his union brothers. During World War I, when Socialists, IWW's, and some conscientious objectors to the war were imprisoned, thousands were aroused and an amnesty movement was successfully developed. Millions were moved to fight for the lives of the innocent Sacco and Vanzetti in the 20's.

Those struggles had great positive values, magnificent lessons flow from

them concerning the attitude of government. They combined militancy, initiative, loyalty and devotion to the cause of the working class. But Negroes were not involved in these struggles; their struggles, after the smashing of the Reconstruction, were separate. There were victories and defeats in this period, but the struggle has recurred again and again, around the same issues of constitutional liberties, civil and human rights. The people can alone prevent periodical recurrence.

There emerges from these battles a lesson. It is extremely difficult to learn, being more profound and more far-reaching than others. It is the lesson that: there will be no permanent victories in the struggle for the constitutional rights of labor, the Communist or Progressive Parties, of the Negro people, of the foreign-born, of persecuted religious minorities in this country until we have linked together in unbreakable bonds of unity in these struggles the masses of labor and the Negro people. No more profound analysis of the American scene has ever been made than this: that labor in a white skin cannot be free while labor in a black skin is branded. This truism is as enduring as time itself. It grows daily more decisive.

An intellectual acceptance of this truth has time and again been expressed by labor. In every basic resolution that has come forth from an American church or religious conference in recent years, lip service is paid to this doctrine. But in its practical application we have encountered and still continue to encounter the gravest political, organizational and educational weaknesses. They have been expressed in the work of CRC, although we have tried to overcome them.

All of these weaknesses testify to the depth to which ideas of white superiority have sunk, the degree to which they have penetrated institutions of learning, of the church, and of politics, the extent to which these poisonous ideas have brought deterioration to the moral sensibilities of the masses of white America and a consequent distrust to the minds of the Negro people.

Ideas of white supremacy have not been accidentally implanted. They have been cultivated. Racism and religious hatred are not inherent. If they persist in every phase of American social relations, it is because the economic rulers of America, who alone own and control the propaganda machinery, have understood the mighty truth that the people's freedom lies in the unity of struggle of white and Negro better than have the leaders of labor and the people's organizations.

In the early defense struggles I have mentioned, the question of Negro-white unity was almost completely missing. It was not considered. The objective conditions presented definite reasons for the omission. The Negro was not then a factor in the labor movement.

THE RISE OF THE MYTHS

Many white people were lulled by the Emancipation Proclamation into the false belief that the Negro Question, as it was called, was solved or they thought that it would be solved by the decisions of the courts in which the Negro people could seek and find redress. These people became legalists. Today it is a hangover. There was no clear concept of the role the courts would play.

The great lessons of the magnificent achievements from Negro-white unity during Reconstruction were denied, distorted, warped and twisted out of all true shape. That was a conscious distortion of American history. The Southern landlords sought a way to retrieve their Civil War losses. They fought for and won an ideological victory based upon the theory of the inherent inferiority of the Negro. This theory was in the interests of Northern industry, which really controlled Southern affairs. The theory of Negro inferiority was accepted as the basic means of holding back labor-Negro unity.

White farmers and labor were weary of the ideological and moral issues around which the Civil War had been fought. They wanted to end the war. They were desperately anxious to get into the industrial apparatus, the development of which loomed as limitless and offered, so they were told, complete economic

security for all.

These were among the most pronounced reasons why the myths of white superiority caught hold, were successfully propagated, and flourised.

THE PERIODS OF THE ILD AND THE CRC

The era and the struggles of the period of the ILD differ from those of the Civil Rights Congress. The Scottsboro case was the first classical attempt to affect the unity of white and Negro in struggle. But it remained generally a fight for "Negro rights." It was, in truth, a fight for democracy against white supremac which menaces all progressives. No examination of the earlier era brings us lessons entirely adequate to the defense needs of today. The specific weight in American life, the political significance of the struggle against racism and white supremacy, has now grown infinitely greater than it was yesterday.

Fascism has risen in Europe and Asia. Everywhere it is accompanied by racism and vicious nationalism. It varied only as the conditions of growth and development in each country differed. In our own country, we heard Huey Long, a racist from Louisiana predict that fascism would come in the garb of anti-fascism. We have seen the Smith Act used as a terrible and effective weapon against the democratic process. In the appeal to the Supreme Court from the decision of the first Foley Square trial, Justice Hugo Black said in his opinion:

> "The indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the government. No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press which I believe the First Amendment forbids. I would hold Section 3 of the Smith Act authorizing this prior restraint unconstitutional on its face and as applied."

Justice William O. Douglas said of the Smith Act:

> "The first Amendment provides that 'Congress shall make no law ... abriding the freedom of speech.' The Constitution provides no exception... Seditious conduct can always be punished. But the command of the First Amendment is so clear that we should not allow Congress to call a halt to free speech...
>
> "Once we start down that road we enter territory dangerous to the liberties of every citizen."

We have started down that road. The ruling clique proceeds as Huey Long, the racist foresaw, allegedly in defense of our democracy. The Smith Act paves the way for the destruction of all constitutional liberties. It is the major weapon of reaction, a master key to monopoly's plan against labor, the Negro people, and all men who, as Bishop Kern said, "by independence of thought claim the right to criticize the status quo and seek to improve it within the framework of the democratic process." With this weapon, the attack has been launched, first against the Communists, to create the illusion that only they are to be the victims This conspiracy against democracy worked in Germany and Italy; it could work he

No voice has spoken out to this point with greater clarity than that of Hubert T. Delany, a Justice of the Domestic Relations Court of Manhattan, an active Episcopal layman, a son of the late Rt. Rev. Henry Beard Delany, Suffragan Bishop of North Carolina.

Listen to these words: "To preserve the Constitution we have all got to take a calculated personal risk and speak up against this usurpation by governmen We still have the power of free speech and free assembly. Let us say, 'We are on to your game. We know that you know the way to make a democracy work is to let every citizen have the same rights as his fellows.' If we make America strong within, it will be invulnerable without.

"Yes: "While there is still time! Let us speak out! Let us demand of our

leaders in public office, 'No more gag laws! No more thought control! No more Smith Act trials of ideas and books.'"

Listen for a moment to William R. Hood, President of the National Negro Labor Council and Recording Secretary of Ford Local 600 - UAW-CIO. He said: "As one who feels strongly about the way Negroes are treated in this 'American way of life,' I am calling upon my people everywhere no matter what their political beliefs, to join in the struggle for the defense of the Smith Act victirms, this is our first line of defense."

The defense of the constitutional liberties and civil rights of the Communists has become the first line of defense of the constitutional liberties, civil and human rights of the people. For the successful defense of the rights of the Communists, the unity of labor and the Negro people is essential. It can and must be realized in struggle. The major campaign is the fight to repeal the Smith Act. The method of procedure is of decisive importance. CRC has made some political errors in this phase of the work, and the responsibility in the main is mine.

SIGNIFICANCE OF DEFENSE OF NEGRO VICTIMS

Our entrance into and conduct of the struggle for the freedom of the Trenton Six was correct. It was an extremely timely battle. All other defense organizations had shunned this fight. They did not see its far-flung implications as a defense of democracy and struggle against fascism. In the end after the victory over death was won, we surrendered the retrial to the NAACP. We wanted unity. Now two of the victims still face the threat of death and no-one makes mention of the case - save CRC.

We were not only correct in entering the fight to save the life of the innocent Willie McGee, but for the first time since the Civil War, white men and women went into the South to fight for the life of a Negro being victimized by the white supremacists. This was a step of extreme importance. Thus, through struggle carried directly into the lair of the white supremacists, we were laying the basis for Negro-white unity. We were challenging white superiority in the very citadel of the white supremacists. We were bringing leadership and a new understanding of the nature of the struggle to the Negro people. We were proving the difference between CRC and other defense organizations. We were creating lasting impressions as to who are the friends of the Negro people.

One of the most decisive features of that struggle was the delegation of white women led by CRC which appealed before the Governor of Mississippi and exposed both the crime of the legal lynch verdict and the criminal conspiracy behind which the rape charge was drawn and the verdict was concocted. We revealed the brutalization of the masses of the white South by their ruling gangs. We showed the magnificent courage of the Negro people. Where has America seen the likes of Rosalie McGee in years. We proved that the Negro people had white allies in the deep South. This fight had tremendous lessons. But they were lost to many leaders and organizations.

Our fight for the lives of the innocent Martinsville Seven was a classical example of militant struggle. Again, we went into the South. Our course forced others to respond. In that fight our efforts to secure a united front of struggle with the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was eminently correct, although unsuccessful. Had we succeeded, the Martinsville Seven might today be alive. We surrendered the defense to the NAACP. It would not work with us. The failure was not ours.

The fight to prevent my victimization by a Congressional Committee was splendidly organized and conducted both in its legal and mass aspects. Church leaders whose organizations contained millions were drawn into the struggle. Negro Methodist Bishops and the top leaders of the Negro Baptist clergy played a conspicuous part in this fight under the splendid leadership of Angie Dickerson. But we did not consolidate our victory organizationally. This was a colossal weakness. It remains a colossal weakness. In this phase of the struggle, our greatest achievement was the production of "We Charge Genocide - - The Crime of Government

Against the Negro People." This was a terrific blow that has not been followed up by us or by any other progressive organization. It must be followed up.

WE CHARGE GENOCIDE

For the first time, the role of Government as an instrument of the "economic royalists" in their exploitation and oppression of the Negro people was clearly unfolded. The world was shown that the persecution of Negroes in America was not to be separated from the foreign policy of the Government. Repeated violations by the rulers of the USA of its international obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, its violations of the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and particularly the utter flouting of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide were of one pattern. The progressive world was profoundly moved. Our petition to the General Assembly of the United Nations was acclaimed wherever progressive human beings gather. Our work was a splendid contribution, both nationally and internationally.

We focussed attention upon the fact that these struggles did not constitute just a fight for "Negro rights." We showed that the fight was against the terrible curse of the white supremacists, against the myth of white superiority, against ruling clique nationalism which is a menace to America and the world. Thus we helped break the taint of charity, of labor philanthropy which is injected by the labor leaders who have no time for this kind of struggle, being overburdened by "greater things."

One does not stop to speculate to what extent the work of CRC on this front has contributed to the resolutions emerging from clerical and labor bodies. There can be no doubt, however, that our efforts to raise the struggle against the menace of white supremacy to a high political level has affected many sections of the population. It has sharpened the conflicts within the ranks of the people's enemies, who are by no means in accord on all points. For example, we know that 56 Senators have sought to exempt this Government from the responsibility of enforcing the privisions of international treaties at home. They particularly want to escape from the commitments of the Genocide Convention. They have not ratified it. This, too, helps to expose the hypocrisy of the racists and witch-hunters. It is around these issues that the conscience of many church and labor leaders has been aroused. A number of books have recently been written on this question, and The Nation magazine has devoted its entire issue of June 28 to the question, "How Free is Free?" Everywhere we must bring these writings to the people. The hypocrisy stinks to heaven.

But again the great weight of the white supremacists' ideas in our own ranks made itself felt in our work. Neither we nor any other progressive organization hammered away systematically, persistently and consistently to bring the political significance of this hypocrisy home to the people. We did not attach it to the Korean policy of the Government where it could have been used to advantage to expose the terrible cynicism of sending black and white Americans to fight for democracy in Korea while black boys were being lynched "legally" and with mob violence at home. This weakness has not yet been overcome, although we have and are moving wide sections of the Negro press. This is an inseparable part of the fight for constitutional liberties and civil rights.

CRC NOT NATIONAL LIBERATION ORGANIZATION

In working on this particular sector, we have not sought to become an organization of Negro liberation struggles. Some called us that, because we have fought so many attacks on the Negro people. We saw the vitality of the struggle against the white supremacists. We saw its limitless potential. Around it all other activities of a democratic character can be enriched. The magnificent possibilities for involving ever greater masses of the Negro people proceed from this course. The Negro people's struggle generally and that for civil liberties and human rights spearhead the struggle in the USA today. Those who declare us a Negro liberation organization do not realize the inseparable relationship of all civil rights struggles. These struggles can and must merge with the broader battles labor is entering, with the fight to save inviolate the rights of all

oppositional political parties and especially the Communist Party. They do not see this struggle as merging with the struggles of the Asian peoples for the equality of the colored people, struggles which Justice Douglas says "no power on earth can stop." They are among those who saw the fight for the lives of the Trenton Six, Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven, Rosa Lee Ingram, the fight to keep me out of jail, as a fight for "Negro rights." Such a narrow outlook does great harm to the struggle to achieve the unity of white and Negro.

Of course, our own weaknesses contributed to these errneous views. The intensity of our drive obscured its breadth. We did not see how to link up the Christoffel case on the labor front and the anti-Semitic frame-up of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg with the sharpening attacks upon the Negro people. Florida gave us the clearest picture of how anti-Semitism was being and would increasingly be used as a splitting tactic by the people's enemies. Just before the murder of Harry T. Moore and his wife in Mims, Florida, Jewish temples were bombed and cemeteries desecrated. This same Hitler-like procedure was to be noted in Illinois, New York and California. That the directives stemmed from a central source seemed clear. We were very slow on the up-take. Our lagging lay mostly in failure to mobilize the people for demonstrative action. Street meetings, mass meetings, pikcet lines were needed.

THE MEANING OF RULING CLIQUE VIOLENCE

There are those who raise the question of why CRC takes cases of violence against Negroes, why it does not fight, for example, for the right of Negro youth to attend any and all schools. CRC does not make the distinction. Life does. The cases of violence, either "legal" or by mobs, reveal most clearly that terror is the weapon of the ruling clique in its attempt to force the acceptance of jim crow, segregation, ghetto life, job discrimination and the poll tax system upon the Negro people. The school struggles must be made. They are now handled by the NAACP. But they are treated in a legalistic manner. There is no attempt to involve the people in mass demonstrative actions in such cases. There are no school holidays proposed, no mobilization of the school children to fight for their own future, no mobilization of trade unions in this fight.

Through such murders as that of Harry T. Moore, the State seeks to discourage registration and voting; that is clear. So, through the Cicero, Illinois bombing of Harvey E. Clark's home, the real estate boards, using government officials, seek to keep the Negro in the ghetto, where high profits from rents and food are possible. Through the murder of Willie McGee and the Martinsville Seven the landlords hope to maintain the plantation system, share-cropping, peonage. Police brutality is used to smash the anger of the city masses. Mob violence against Mexican-Americans and against the personal property of Jewish people is a splitting device against labor. It is used to create hatred and to separate the sympathy of the community from the cause of labor.

Violence is the midwife and handmaiden of the entire program of racism and the white supremacists. But each attack serves only to arouse the people. In the fight around these cases, the conscience of white America can be awakened. Through the development of struggle around these issues, the role of the Government is best illustrated. In these struggles we can clearly show that in the attempt of the white supremacists to dehumanize black men and women and youth, the ruling clique of this country has brutalized and is brutalizing millions of white men, women and youth. Both fronts must be maintained, but we cannot now maintain both.

This violence incited against Negroes as a means of smashing the drive toward Negro-white unity will increase in scope and intensity. We are in for a wave of it following the elections. It will not stop even during the election campaign. The acquittal and release of LaBenskey, the murderer of two Negroes in Yonkers, New York: the release with nominal fines of the city officials who conspired to allow a mob to drive Negroes from Cicero; the threat of the States of Georgia and South Carolina to withdraw state support of school funds if the courts declare Negroes eligible to attend; all these are signs of the times. Acts of violence against the Negro people will increase tremendously. CRC's role in

exposing this trend has been highly commendable. Even the NAACP and the American Jewish Congress have been forced to admit that this terror is increasing. CRC must be prepared to handle more, not less, of these cases. CRC alone will seek to reach down and influence the people.

A NEW STEP TOWARD LABOR-NEGRO UNITY

In the development of these activities CRC has placed the question of the unity of labor and the Negro people in struggle on a new high plane. CRC brought before the National Convention of Fur and Leather Workers the proposal that its leader, Ben Gold, be empowered to form a trade union committee of one thousand to fight genocide. The potentialities of such a committee are limitless. Working correctly it could change the whole outlook of labor toward the struggle against white supremacy. Broader sections of labor than ever would be involved. The labor concept of this struggle could be changed and its charitable features rooted out. A new type of leadership for white labor in these struggles would emerge. Its influence upon the community and church would be far-reaching. In turn the attitude of the Negro community toward labor would surely be deeply affected. We must go ahead, full steam ahead, on this work. It is a must.

GRAVE WEAKNESSES

Despite the advanced character of our work against white supremacy, CRC made grave mistakes in its development. We will not speak now of the failure of organizational consolidation. Upon my return from the General Assembly of the United Nations, tremendous strides could have been made in that direction. We missed the boat. When we won the splendid victory in my case, we again missed the boat to organizational consolidation, though we had carried Negro Bishops and high churchmen along with us. However let me now deal with some political weaknesses.

We did not counterpose this splendid work against the white supremacists to the fight for the rights of the Communists or the repeal of the Smith Act or amnesty for the victims of the Smith Act. We always saw the indivisible relation between the two. But we failed to recognize that it was historically necessary to link the fight against the Smith Act at the earliest possible moment with the great struggles we were waging. We were extremely slow to make this orientation. This was evidence of a distrust of the people. We did not see them as ready for this form of political struggle. We did not show the people that the Smith Act enforcement nullifies the Bill of Rights. Our slowness became a sorely distressing factor to Smith Act victims and to others who also saw that the defense of the rights of the Communists was the first line of defense of the people's rights. This weakness was not reflected in the CRC as a whole.

That the Smith Act comes first must not only be clear to us, it must be made clear to the people. The arrest and imprisonment of Benjamin J. Davis, a former member of the New York City Council, the attack upon Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, which attempted persecution comes within the broad circumference of the Smith Act; the persecution of Paul Robeson; all of the attacks of government upon the fearless and courageous spokesmen of the Negro people are strengthened by the existence of the Smith Act. It is now a major weapon in the arsenal of the genocists. It is a weapon against labor, the Jewish people and all progressive minority groups. As coordinated struggles, the fight against genocide and the Smith Act would have had a tremendously clarifying effect upon people and generated great resistance.

Let me recall for the benefit of this most vital point of our discussion the words of Richard E. Westbrooks, a Negro, one of our country's ablest lawyers and Earl B. Dickerson, President of the National Lawyers Guild, one time a member of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Fair Employment Practices Commission. These gentlemen in a petition in support of efforts to secure a rehearing in the cause of the first Foley Square Communist victims of the Smith Act said among other things:

"Negro citizens are vitally concerned over the Court's decision, both

because they regard the right of political expression as a basic democratic right and because history has taught them that liberty is indivisible. The constitutional rights of Negroes under the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments cannot be divorced from free enjoyment by all our people of the protection of the Bill of Rights. The decision in weakening a basic liberty places in jeopardy the special rights written into the Constitution to assure democratic protection of Negroes.

"Moreover, Negro citizens have a special and vital interest in the right of free expression. The most precious right which a minority can enjoy under any form of government is the right to protest; the right to voice its complaints and to request, urge, demand and advocate governmental redress. The democratic principle can only work if every minority group is assured and, indeed, guaranteed access to all of the means of protecting itself against discrimination and unfair treatment."

In the national office and the New York area, which bore the major weight of the struggles against genocide and the white supremacists, this failure to link these struggles was revealed in its most grievous forms. On the West Coast, the CRC apparatus was a bulwark of support in the fight to prevent the violation of the rights of the Communist Party. The struggle of the Pittsburgh Six was borne to a considerable degree by CRC. In other sections of the apparatus the orientation was made.

That there was insufficient struggle generally for the rights of the Communist Party is no answer. That is admitted by all. That CRC could not carry the entire burden of this struggle is also not a defendable reply. The CRC had the historical obligation to mount a program of action around the Smith Act and to fight through for the forces with which to carry it out. There should have been forums, rallies, meetings organized. City Councils and State Legislatures should have been pressured to memorialize the President to end this persecution that even Supreme Court Justices could not stomach. CRC should have fought for a wider distribution of the educational materials it produced for this sector of the struggle - - Voices for Freedom; Deadly Parallel, a splendid pamphlet; the Crisis Papers, and Censored News.

CRC should have fought to see that the forces which were found for the many ad hoc committees which have been established functioned through CRC channels.

SHALL WE LIQUIDATE CRC?

Life now presents this Board meeting with a question of the magnitude of these weaknesses. Have the weaknesses of CRC been of such a nature as to invite liquidation? Or, to put the question in another form, should we advocate a process of decentralization? Should the various district organizations of CRC function independently of a center? To some degree, this is already the situation and has been to the regret of many.

Our answer to both questions is "No," an emphatic "No." The existence of a multiplicity of committees in the Smith Act fight does not negate the independent responsibilities or the tasks of CRC in this field. The fight against the Smith Act must not become something separate and apart from the fight against white supremacy. Neither must be separated from the fight to defend the rights of labor. If ad hoc committees are necessary for the moment, a central core of defense struggle dedicated to those characteristics which reveal our truly people's character should be maintained. A central clearing house on the defense front offers the greatest possibilities for realizing the unity of labor, the Negro people, and the community in these struggles. This unity remains the guarantee for victory. We must avoid the defeatism of liquidationism.

PRISONERS' RELIEF

The Prisoners' Relief work of CRC, a main Red Cross feature of CRC, becomes more important daily. It involves the families of all political prisoners

and not of those victimized by the Smith Act alone. Every chapter of CRC should have its Prisoners' Relief Committee. The moral support a political prisoner gets through this contact is very sustaining. Numerous innocent Negro prisoners, in jail only because of the color of their skins, are political prisoners who have found in CRC's relief their only solace. The work of Prisoners' Relief has a far-reaching appeal. It can bring a person to his or her first introduction to the struggle for democracy. There are those who fail to see the innocent Negro prisoner as a political prisoner. These people do not understand "We Charge Genocide" nor do they charge the government with culpability when they note that in every single state of the union Negro youth is arrested, harassed by police and persecuted far out of proportion to the number of Negroes in the community generally. The government seeks to put a brand of criminality on Negro youth. Prisoners' Relief has a tremendous responsibility. It demands central direction.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Another phase of this struggle that should be centrally directed is the international solidarity activities which are also becoming ever more important. We have seriously neglected our responsibilities to our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters. Thousands of them are languishing in jails, placed there by the tools of the American billionaire trusts who dominate every phase of that unhappy Island's political, economic and social life. Ours is the great responsibility to protest the murderous attitude of Franco Spain and the fascist monarch of Greece toward political prisoners in those countries. The degree to which the American people express their opposition to such oppression is the degree to which the people in those countries understand that there is a wide gap here between decent people and the government.

Undoubtedly the French and Italian governments will soon begin most violent attempts to curb the democratic rights of those people. That violence will also be at the behest of the US Government. France has started the procession. This course is being followed in Cuba and in some South American countries. The scope of our solidarity action will have to be enlarged. We must never forget that the case of the Trenton Six and the Martinsville Seven first broke in England and France. These cases were being concealed by the American press. In a similar manner, the European Big Business press seeks to conceal the attacks upon civil liberties occurring in the European sphere. The South American press operates in the same way. The international solidarity of all the progressive peoples of the world in the fight for Willie McGee's life and the lives of the Martinsville Seven was a magnificent thing to behold and a challenge as well as an inspiration to us. We have a great responsibility for international solidarity - - activities on a wide range. Our educational work in this field must be enlarged. Some specialization is also necessary. Colorado and the Los Angeles area should give more attention to the persecution of Mexican-Americans. We should inspire activities in behalf of the Indian people even if we cannot lead them ourselves.

WE OPPOSE ALL AGGRESSIVE WARS

It is necessary that CRC fight against the inhuman effects of an aggressive war program in the field of constitutional liberties. The menacing effect that an aggressive war program has upon the human rights of the masses is incalculable. We shall not deal exhaustively here with the issue of bacteriological warfare. I must, in passing however, say that never before in the history of mankind has so base a crime been perpetrated against the individual. Here is the classical example of the effects of aggressive war upon human dignity; here we see how it brutalizes. It is not a far-fetched idea to believe that those who gouged out the eyes of Isaac Woodward, the veteran, or the Monroe, Georgia murders of innocent Negroes, the "legal" lynchers of the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee would resort to bacteriological warfare. It is hard to believe that the Koreans would do this to themselves.

The Smith and McCarran Laws and the newly-enacted McCarran-Walters Law are war measures. They are steps in the direction of a police state. One is

inconceivable without the other. What a terribly inhuman insult it is to the Negro people to ask for their sons for a war in Korea, supposedly fought for democracy, while the brothers who remain behind are lynched or brutally murdered by police or jailed for the "crime" of having been born black. We oppose aggressive wars. This is a field of operations in which the National Office must give leadership.

FOR PROGRESSIVE CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

Of course the CRC should everywhere prepare legislative programs. It is not enough to fight against oppressive laws. We have an extremely positive approach toward legislation. CRC should appear before city councils and state legislative bodies advocating such laws as would outlaw all expressions of racial and religious hatred. What other organization is there on the defense front which has a greater responsibility than CRC to appear before political party conventions in support of civil rights legislation? None. It is our task and responsibility to go to those church leaders whose resolutions against terror and violence on the civil rights front are so splendid and say, "We will help mobilize to fight this thing. Here is where we can implement your arguments. Let's go together." Leaflets should be carried to and distributed at such churches on these issues. Our failure to prepare such material is to be sharply criticized. Above all, genocide in modified forms is practiced in almost every state and city in the USA. The difference between New York and Jackson, Missippi, is a matter of degree. Therefore a local genocide report should be formulated wherever CRC can mobilize the research workers. We should have a legislative program dealing with these questions on a state-wide basis. We should try to get every city to adopt the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Let us work for a real Civil Rights program in state and Federal Governments.

WE FIGHT GENOCIDE

The fight against genocide has just begun. This is one of the all-time grea civil rights and human liberties struggles. That is the essence of it. The white supremacists, all who are imbued with an iota of white superiority, have become terribly alarmed at the appearance of "We Charge Genocide." In order to water down its sales and distribution, they are head to say, "Of course it is good, but you know it is not popular;" or "It won't sell; people can't read it," and so on and so forth until one is sick. We have sold 37,000 when we should have sold 200,000.

We will return to the UN with forces strengthened and infinitely clearer. This campaign must be prepared with great thoroughness. Faced by the condemnation of progressive mankind in all countries, the men who speak for the rulers of America are defending themselves by arguing that the crimes against the Negro people do not constitute genocide. What a splendid defense! But what a morally sick defense! Truly worthy of the men and women who make it. But the crimes remain a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, even if you remove them from the category of genocide.

The fight against the jim-crow aspects of genocide must become mass resistance struggles. It is time to call for more militant democratic action. In the leadership there should be white as well as Negro forces. Work stoppages and the calling of children from school are forms that have not yet been employed in the fight against brutal lynching, mob violence such as at Cicero and "legal" lynch justice. Why? Is this adventuristic? We answer no! These tactics have to be perfected and applied if we are going to save our country. The American people are ready for such measures. Their increasing anxiety as to "How Free is Free?" (The Nation, June 28, 1952) shows a growing appreciation and leaves no doubt that legalistic struggles against these evils are not enough. This year in Look and the New Republic we have seen articles exposing the venal character of the courts. How can one sincerely call for full confidence in this institution? Yet, how did we use this material? The campaign oratory of the major parties will present the people with irrefutable proof of all we charge as crimes of Government and more. The Kefauver Committee report on the relation of Crime and Politics gives further support to our arguments. The time is ripe to show through the reports of the Government itself the participation of the Government

in crimes against minorities. The defense of constitutional liberties, civil and human rights has this wide a range. None of this exposure is inconsistent with the fight against the Smith Act or Genocide. It is consistent.

WASHINGTON, DISGRACE TO THE NATION

It should be clear to all that Washington, D. C., must be a concentration point for mass struggles for the realization of Constitutional liberties, civil and human rights. The fight against such legislation as the McCarran-Walters Act has to be raised to mass proportions in the nation's capital as well as in the several states. The white supremacists are most vulnerable in the capital. Their guilt is most glaring there, not only to the nation, but as well, to the world. As good a job can be done there, in presenting to those who will see the crimes of government, as was done in Paris. Let us not forget that a national woman's magazine had an article on segregation in Washington called "Washington Disgrace to the Nation." We cannot longer ignore the obligations that are ours to go to work in Washington, D. C. The Board must direct the National Office to act.

THE ROSENBERG CASE

The Rosenberg case contains many features that indicate that terror against the American people is being stepped up, is becoming a little more specialized and more diversified., a little more Hitlerian in form and content. First of all, these two innocent people were persecuted in order that others would be too terrorized to oppose an unpopular war. That Jews were selected for the sacrifice is not accidental. The opposition of the Negro people to a "war for democracy" thousands of miles away while the Government makes no move to protect their rights and dignity as human beings at home is clear. The opposition of other minorities seems to have less reason. To select Jews and to call their desire for peace "treason" was to feed anti-Semitism behind which the war itself was pushed. Although the USA is not Hitler Germany, anti-Semitism has long been practiced here. Always in critical moments efforts have been made to paint the Jews as traitorous people. To hide the crime on this occasion a Jewish judge and prosecutor were carefully chosen - - no Jew, however, was permitted on the jury. As had happened during the Alien and Sedition trials of the Jeffersonian era, when the oppositional party of Jefferson was labelled the agent of a foreign government, this man and woman were arbitrarily called Communists. The Rosenberg case was intended to lay a basis for intensifying the attacks upon the rights of the Communists. That legal political party had already been arbitrarily labelled the agency of a foreign government. Thus the Rosenbergs were smeared in advance of trial. Due process was now out of the question. The press tried the case before the evidence was in, and reached a guilty verdict. The hysterical atmosphere pervaded the courtroom.

There will be other Rosenberg cases. They must be fought with all of CRC's resources. But the two innocent people in the death house at Sing Sing must not die.

If we say that there will be more Rosenberg cases, we simply indicate that we have studied and learned something from the history of fascist reaction's course in Germany and Italy. The lessons are before America. We should use them. There will also be more Willie McGee cases, more Ciceros, Grovelands, and Monroe, Georgias. These are the terroristic measures that those who want war and the concentration camps believe will break the people's resistance and split their ranks. We are not drifting anywhere in America. There is a drive toward war and fascism that has been consciously and with desperate persistence mounted by a small, powerful clique of men who believe the time is ripe for them to rule the world. Against this movement, all too slowly and amidst differences that perplex and confuse, progressives are developing a counter movement. The American people are against war and fascism, but are not organized for struggle. No man can say now which will win. Reaction has not won the people. It may not win them, but there is danger of a terrible apathy, an inertia that could be fatal for the moment. The fight for the people will and can only be strengthened by the proper presentation of the basic features of the Rosenberg case to the people.

SELECTIVITY IMPOSED UPON US - OUR TACTICS

We cannot take every case. We now lack the resources needed for so gigantic a job. Reaction, with all governmental agencies functioning, strikes first here, then there, and keeps even the consistent progressives off balance. That is a special tactic of reaction, first many attacks, second in many sections of the country. To a very great degree, however, there is central direction. As we watch the anti-Negro, anti-Semitic bombings, this grows clearer. The situation demands selectivity in the acceptance of cases. All attacks cannot be handled. Only by the courage and zeal applied to the cases we take up can we do something effective in preventing the victimization of millions. But having selected a case that can arouse the people's anger, we must push ahead despite hell and high water. The fight around each case must reach the proportions of an offensive if a victory is to be won and its fruits safeguarded. We must learn to master the tactic of the democratic political offensive. Were we to build as we should, many more cases could be handled.

There must be the most relentless and persistent defense of Constitutional liberties, civil and human rights, once a case is taken or a campaign begun. The fight against the loyalty tests has not been broadened and deepened. On the educational front, all of the statements of those today sincerely protesting the growing encroachment upon rights must be broadcast far and wide. As we take up a case, we must show how these statements apply to the case at hand, and thus draw in the followers of those who have spoken out.

The Martinsville Seven and the Willie McGee cases show how correct selection is made. Under CRC leadership they reached the highest political levels yet reached in America. Europe was visibly moved, and influenced us. The people were presented with the facts. The counter-action was outlined clearly on a practical basis. The immediate action program was carefully formulated and dovetailed with the long range perspectives. It provided for the best possible legal defense and the action of the people in the streets. It was truly a defense of American democracy; as such it was an expose of American reaction. It gave proof of the existence of two Americas. It forced the taking of sides. This was extremely helpful to progressives on a world-wide scope.

The plans to penetrate the lynch-mongers' territory were mapped out. Delegations went into the South. They took the offensive educationally, organizationally, politically. They beat the enemy back on his haunches in his lair. They revealed the tie-up of state and federal agencies and branches of government to defeat the efforts of the defenders of the Constitution to gain its protection for Negroes. The FBI were against the people's efforts and even fingered those who went South. Everywhere notice was taken of the tactic and strategy of the struggle. The death of Willie McGee was not an example of the great strength of reaction. It was an expression of reaction's weakness - - and our own. We mobilized too few, we mobilized too slowly.

We did not keep lifting the political level of struggle. We did not move state legislatures, city councils. Yet these can be moved. The demands for stoppages moved too few unions of organized labor. Fur & Leather were the leaders in this forceful kind of action. No school stoppages were achieved. The victims were murdered. The cases petered out. But the "legal" ending can never be the end of such a matter. Even after death these cases could have continued, being merged with others. We are dealing here with wanton murder. The jails are filled with innocent Negroes convicted for the purpose of giving proof that the hatemongers are justified in their attitude toward the Negro people, who are "criminal-minded." Death does not end such bestial campaigns.

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND PUBLICITY

Let me seemingly digress for a moment to deal with a phase of our work not fully appreciated and yet potent in many respects and especially potent in these cases - - our public relations and publicity work. The enemy seems to have mastered the technique of public relations and of publicity. This appears to be true solely because on the one hand they can buy high-powered public relations people and on the other hand they own the machinery of propaganda. But had they really mastered the art, they would have won the people. Mastery is more than form. It is content. No other people's organization has surpassed CRC in this field, yet we have only scratched the surface. Our public relations and our

publicity reached truly splendid levels in the Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven and the Trenton Six cases. We lifted both still higher with our charge of genocide. It is incumbent upon us that we master form in this sphere, for we have the content that can win the people. The form must be dramatic, the pace dynamic, the content flows from the fundamental interests of the people.

WE CHARGE GENOCIDE AGAIN

Our greatest political offensive was the petition "We Charge Genocide - - The Crime of Government Against the Negro People." What a terrible exposure of the race-hate breeders! The two Americas, as it were, placed on the examination table. Progressives never before had presented to them the like of this documentation of terror proven to be a governmental policy. Terror cannot persist for centuries without consent of government. This must be made obvious The relation of government to the rights of citizens and their dignity as human beings was painted in every sphere of human contact. Those who benefit by the exploitation and oppression of Negroes get one treatment; the victims get the persecution. A quarter of a million copies of this petition should have been sold. All manner of meetings, forums, debates and actions should have been predicate upon it. Thirty-seven thousand copies were sold. The crime of government was helped by our criminal failure to reach ten times the number we did. "We Charg Genocide" is the evidence decent humanity seeks. This document truly offers hope to progressive Americans, for it depicts that America which will destroy all that Jefferson, Lincoln, Douglass and other stalwarts created.

THE DEMOCRATIC OFFENSIVE

The slump following the failure to consolidate the people organizationally after these offensive struggles is of great significance. Our prestige could not be other than impaired. We seemed lopsided, and the enemy took far-reaching advantage. We can recover the lost ground, but the task will be no easy one.

Those organizations which rely on legal action alone can never go over to the offensive in the fight to preserve the people's interests. Their is always a defensive action, always an acceptance of gradualism. They can never truly expose the enemy. They can win concessions -- all people must help them in the battle for concessions -- but no permanent victories are possible. There wil come cabinet officers, diplomatic spokesmen, judges and prosecutors from the Negro people. But no permanent gains. The most damaging weakness in the purely legal approach is that it cannot win the people. The organizations which apply this method can use the people but never win them. The fight at present is to win the people, to mobilize and enlighten the people, to help guide the people. When the enemy has a program of war and fascism, failure to win the people can be fatal. The people will decide everything. Their passivity can be decisive against them. There are many who do not recognize these facts. Such people as seek the weakening of CRC do not recognize these facts. The democratic offensive is the offensive of an awakening people firmly of the belief that its Constitutional liberties are threatened but can be safeguarded. Such a people cannot be defeated. It is beginning to realize how the liberties were won by the people, to understand the need for and the character of "eternal vigilance," and to project militant democratic struggle as the guarantee of liberty. The democratic offensive, applied to genocideal struggles, has a tremendous impact on the fight for the right to vote and to present Negro candidates before the people. For the people's offensive, the youth are needed as well as other segments of the progressive people.

THE YOUTH IN CRC

CRC has not given the attention to the mobilization and activation of the youth that the present situation demands. That youth, suffering grievously from the attacks upon constitutional liberties, civil and human rights, represents a mighty reserve of forces for this front of struggle. Such a mobilization would not adversely affect the development of youth struggles on other progressive fronts. As a matter of fact, such organization would stimulate the progressive youth movement. Every district of CRC has the responsibility to seriously look to the activation of youth. Youth will take up the resolutions on Constitutional

liberties, civil and human rights which so many church and labor organizations have formulated on paper and carry them to the people. Youth will help to implement these fine words with courageous democratic action.

Youth work should not proceed as though CRC were a religious institution where thought is given to ritual forms. For the youth, CRC should be a great social clearinghouse. The truly brutalizing nature of racism and anti-Semitism should be revealed. Hitlerism shows what was done to dehumanize the non-Jewish German youth. The use of such terms as "Chink" and "Gook," "Nigger," "Kike," "Wop," which are household terms in America and the unprotested dropping of burning gasoline bombs upon civilian populations in order to contain a political philosophy - - all prove beyond a doubt that what happened in Germany is the pattern of things where racism and anti-religious sentiment is permitted as "freedom of speech." Youth can see all this in terms of defense of civil and human rights.

CRC youth will learn how to discuss the controversial issues in which defense work is rooted. They can be taught confidence in the people, devotion to the constitutional liberties of the people, and, above all else, respect for human dignity. CRC needs more youth of every color and creed, young men and young women.

WOMEN AND CRC

If we of CRC have not learned life's lesson that women are a most powerful reserve for progressive action, we should have learned the lesson in the Willie McGee and Martinsville Seven struggles. What a glorious example Rosalee McGee, Josephine Grayson, Bessie Mitchell and Amy Mallard gave of unity and struggle. They showed what course could be followed by progressive womanhood. What a tremendous force the women were in Richmond, facing the Governor of Virginia and challenging white supremacy! What a magnificent scene took place in Jackson, Mississippi, when for the first time in the history of America white women unqualifiedly condemned the bestial lynch system and exposed the lie that lynching was necessary to protect white womanhood. They had taken up the challenge of their Negro sisters. White women behind whose skirts and bodies thousands of black men have been brutally murdered by the rulers of America strike a fierce blow against the bastion of ruling clique racism. Women, Negro and white are for us a mighty reservoir.

We should feverishly organize the women. We should emphasize the need to organize large numbers of white women. Why? Because the creation of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice has opened up a broad avenue through which Negro women can pass on to democratic struggles. The challenge of their activities must find a parallel course opened up to white women. The CRC offers a unique opportunity to white women to appeal to the moral conscience of America. It is in the realm of Constitutional liberties and human rights that reaction has carried into life its race hatred activities, its lynching and cruel persecution. Negro women have through the years fought fiercely here to protect themselves, their families and our heritage of democracy. White women must accept this challenge. CRC offers them the program. I am not saying that CRC is to have only white women in its ranks. That would be a gross error. I am not saying that CRC is the only organization in which white women function. That would be jealousy of organizations, and destructive in character. I am saying that CRC should have a special appeal to white women. Through its channels the moral conscience of white America can be awakened. That conscience has been partly destroyed by the myth of lynching as a protection to white womanhood. Women of labor auxiliaries, church bodies, middle class groups should find the work of CRC extremely attractive. We did not know how to employ the women who went to Jackson, Mississippi. Their good work and initiative was never popularized or extended as it should have been. Through such a popularization, thousands of white women could have been shown how reaction seeks to destroy every vestige of human decency. For CRC the activation of women is a constant challenge. Women should be everywhere playing a leading role in the affairs of this organization. It is no expression of male superiority to say that in the humanism inherent in our appeal for Prisoners' Relief work the call of the women could move all whose moral corruption has not passed beyond redemption's skill.

We must change our methods in handling this matter. We must look toward the mobilization of Southern women as one looks toward a cherished goal. Already, in New Orleans, Louisville, Miami, Winston-Salem and a host of other places in the South, we have seen brave white women in heroic action. When we speak of Rosalee McGee, Josephine Grayson, Bessie Mitchell, Amy Mallard, Rosalie Ingram and some of their white sisters who stood on the ramparts at Jackson, we get the concept of the immeasurable worth of the women forces CRC can move.

FINANCES

A word or two about our financial difficulties. They threaten now to totally disrupt all activities. We have grave weaknesses in the financial field. First of all we do not know how to gear a financial campaign to all other cases, campaigns and activities. None can be exempt. The price of successful struggle is also financial. No campaign is to be undertaken without a struggle for funds. Secondly we return always to the donor who gave yeste4day. That of course we should but if we conducted the campaign correctly new doors would have opened. Thirdly we do not attach the needed importance to collecting small sums through parties, shop-gate collections and other methods which bring us to the people. Here is where our constant support is to be found. We must learn that financial support is won. It has to be won through struggle heroically conducted. The secret for winning enough financial support lies in the convincing of enough people that our cause is just and that it is theirs no less than ours. The people hold all keys to victory.

SOME COMMENT ON ORGANIZATIONAL WEAKNESSES BUILDING CRC

I should like now to deal with some of the vital questions of organization. None of our weaknesses demand a more exhaustive examination than those we have displayed in the realm of organization. It is questionable whether we can call our lapses on the organizational front "weaknesses." We have displayed the kind of attitude toward organizational problems and tasks that is almost incomprehensible. Their roots are political, that we understand. There, for example, are those who say "the crimes against the Negro people" which Federal and State government have allowed to go without effective challenge since 1876 "do violence to the principles of civilized mankind - BUT - why not leave this field to those organizations which do not condemn the appalling role of government?" Why build CRC? Build the organizations whose leaders call for dependence on the courts alone; deplore mass action and support the aggressive war program. Well, the argument has some meri

Both types of organization are necessary. CRC is especially necessary to inspire the masses in the other defense organizations. The relation of these cases to each other would be lost and people made to believe that these crimes are the acts of irresponsibles who cannot be curbed by government if CRC did not show, through its methods of militant people's struggle, the contrary. The people will not see that if jim crow in violation of the Constitution can be made legal (Alabama, Mississippi, etc.) the Constitution can be made legal and enforced and jim crow legally outlawed in the same states by the Federal Government's action. We need CRC to expose the immorality of the mythical theory of gradualism. The myth of States' Rights when applied to denial of constitutional liberties and human rights has also to be exploded. CRC has to be built simultaneously with those defense organizations which condemn CRC principles. That is necessary in order that the struggle for Constitutional liberties can become a principled struggle.

There are those who say: "Of course, the job CRC did to expose American genocide was magnificent - - but the Smith Act was not linked together with it; therefore let us now liquidate CRC." This is as though CRC had finished its job when "Genocide" was published, that it had exhausted its potential for action or growth, that it could not remedy its weaknesses. The liquidation process is, in words, condemned by all. However, it takes many and varied forms, all deplored, all denied, and all effective.

There are some who say that CRC is too militant, it scares the people. But the language of church and labor condemning the drive of reaction against the Constitution is often stronger than that used by CRC. Both have supported CRC, top and bottom. Their supporting resolutions, however, are not carried to the

people. There is no organization save CRC that will carry these resolutions down to community and shop. There are some who say that CRC has been labelled subversive. If a retreat is to be called for from all organizations arbitrarily called subversive, all organizations that will struggle will be called subversive. The retreat will become a rout. The lable is not the main reason why CRC has not been built. The unlabelled group should today look to its program. Failure to build is failure to see.

CRC has not only not exhausted its potentialities to give invaluable aid to the civil and human rights struggle; rather, as we said in opening this report, if there were no CRC, one would have to be organized.

We did not approach that line of thinking without building a program in mind. We have said that we will concentrate on building CRC. We chose strategic industrial towns but failed to concentrate. Where we did organize we did not place the strongest elements CRC could command on the job. Who in his or her right mind can think of Washington, D. C., without a great Constitutional liberties, civil rights defense body? We have none there. Some have used the insulting argument that you can't find Americans in Washington, D. C. who have guts and the will to fight back. Who seeks to ignore Baltimore, Boston, St. Louis, the State of Indiana, and above all else the South? No one, openly. Yet we have no real CRC in these places.

Undoubtedly all the arguments which are used anywhere against the building of CRC are advanced as the road away from isolation and to the people. All are in support of breadth. But what other defense organization has moved the numbers moved by CRC? What organization has worked in a manner as to develop so much talk on Constitutional liberties, so much healthy controversy? It is heresy to believe that had CRC gained organizational strength as it moved ahead politically and educationally the entire level of democratic struggle in the USA would not have been much further advanced. Out of a deep desire to aid with constructive criticism has come destructive confusion as to the role and character of CRC. No one wanted to attempt to build what couldn't or, at worst shouldn't be built.

The defense of Constitutional liberties, civil and human rights is today so inseparably related to stopping fascism at home and preserving peace that no organizational fetishes or jealousies can be long entertained. CRC is not a monopoly concern. It is the responsibility of CRC to struggle as only a people's defense organization should be able to fight to secure coordinated activity in this sphere of democratic struggle. It stands unalterably for a people's front of struggle to safeguard the democratic process as against a ruling clique front of terror so destructive of the democratic process. It may oftimes be excluded, at this stage of confusion, from the movement towards a people's front. Those who cry, "We will not work with Communists," may be able momentarily to shunt aside CRC, the organization which welcomes and accepts people without asking their political party and which holds that to save the democratic process all must work together against its destroyers. Even if CRC is excluded from these early strivings to create a people's front, it remains the only defense organization moving on a principled basis and therefore is a powerful coordinating agency.

The organization of defense activities and organization of defense in the South is an imperative step. This does not preclude the building of defense organizations that fear to carry the fight to the people. There is always the danger that an organization that is afraid to carry its activities to the street will not dare antagonize a court or administration by the vehemence of its opposition to legal lynch decisions in legal and legislative halls.

STRUGGLES ARE MERGING

We in CRC argue that the struggles of the Negro people against white supremacy merge with the struggle of all progressives to maintain and extend constitutional liberties, civil and human rights, but the merger is not an automatic or mechanically contrived affair. It has to be fought for. Building an organization demands infinite patience and more careful planning. The plan must be more than a routine mapping out of concentration points. Building campaigns must be mapped

out as political campaigns proceed. The growth must be geared to expan ding understanding. A political campaign in the South for the freedom of an innocent Willie McGee calls for a program for building in the South as well as in the NOrth.

Never has a political campaign such as was the concentrated effort to place before the American people the genocideal policies of government against the Negro people, been so pregnant with such limitless organizational possibilities. Thousands would have responded to a building campaign to stop genocide. The crimes disclosed in "We Charge Genocide" caused a wave of revulsion. The important thing was not whether the crimes should be called "genocide" - - call them wha you will, but stop them. That demands organization of forces, which in turn makes possible a heightening of the political struggle.

COMMITTEES

Organization has its inner organization as well as its outerworld side. To build a defense organization, the chapter must be prepared for hard work. This demands the greatest possible utilization of membership through the development of committees. The labor advisory committee, the youth committee, the church committee, finance committee and others. Such committees offer all manner of opportunities to loose the creative imagination of the membership. The concept of a people's organization becomes clearer. The CRC cannot be successfully developed by the functionaries alone. It must train forces, and that too precisely inthe heat of struggle. The defense of Constitutional liberties, civil and human rights is the responsibility of the people. The defense organization is their property. All offensive campaigns will inevitably come to a standstill and stop if new forces are not added to those who originate the struggle.

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I would like to conclude my report by dealing with what I regard as the most important demands ofthis historic moment.

SOME MERITORIOUS EXAMPLES

However, a few words on a matter of grave importance are necessary. The gains that have been made redound to the credit of the progressive movement as a whole. They would have been impossible however if it had not been for the splendid work of our districts. Some should have special mention.

It is impossible to pass by the splendid digest of "We Charge Genocide" made by our Los Angeles Chapter under the leadership of Margie Robinson and Emil Freed. I am satisfied that it helped in the sale of the book. there and must say that it has more than local value. The great support which that chapter has given to the Los Angeles Smith Act trial victims is an example for all other CRC groups. Some organizational growth was also recorded there.

The fact of the matter is that the Pacific Coast apparatus as such must be complimented for various phases of good work. San Francisco's handling of the Wesley Robert Wells case, under Ida Rothstein, and Oakland under the able leadership of Decca Treuhaft in the Jerry Newson case have inspired us here in the National office. It is my feeling that CRC in Washington, led by John Daschbach offers good examples of educational work in terms of material produced and it gives evidence that much more can be done elsewhere.

The manner in which Detroit CRC, under the splendid leadership of Art McPhaul and Ann Shore turned the tables on the terrorist Un-American Activities Committee cannot be commended too highly. It is a guide to all other CRC groups that come into contact with this unholy gang. The Chicago area under Lester Davis did some fine things in the housing struggle but it was particularly in the struggle against the Broyles State police Bills that it set a national example.

A word of praise must be handed John HOlton and Jack Zucker of the Eastern Pennsylvania District for their work in the Fletcher Mills case. In the Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven and Trenson Six cases, New York under Nat Ross gave valiant aid. It was there, also, that our first Labor Advisory

Committee was set up under the direct work of Abe Weisburd. Such committees should appear all over the country. They will be of immeasurable value in building the National Trade Union Committee of 1,000.

In the Willie McGee and Martinsville Seven cases, a good word must be said for the work of almost every chapter. What is particularly noteworthy was the manner in which the significance of the all-white women's delegation to the South was appreciated. We have not, however, followed this with comparable action in the districts. The work of both Elaine Ross of New York and Aubrey Grossman, our National Organizational Secretary, who handled the Jackson crusade is to be praised. The Brooklyn Chapter, with Elaine Ross, gave us a stirring example of united front work in its "Repeal the Smith Act" meeting.

In the Patterson case, almost every chapter responded. Here again Angie Dickerson was in the forefront. She showed how to break through barriers in the fight for the United Front how to dare to face those who speaking words of freedom have not implemented them with deeds. Angie Dickerson showed us how to work for the United front. But we learned too little.

Our good work was spotty and uneven. That characterization testifies to the unevenness in the maturity of CRC and the vital need for educational activities for leaders. Nowhere is there the consistency that we desire and that the nature of our responsibilities demands.

In many places lawyers came forward to work in CRC whose courage an devotion must be recognized. This is particularly true of the Willie McGee case. Ralph Powe as the head of our legal staff brought many new faces upon the scene. We did not, however, consolidate a lawyers' defense committee nationally. It cannot be said that the terror against the lawyers accounts for this weakness.

There are many other workers worthy of special mention and especially among the devoted friends who as volunteers work for CRC, among whom we must speak of Paul Robeson, Howard Fast and John Howard Lawson. We have to approach the question of volunteers much more seriously and thoroughly. Better times will permit mention of many times the names recalled here. What rich potentialities and good people are ours! Let us pass on.

THE TASKS AHEAD

I do not believe that there can be any disagreement with my opening conclusion that the present situation is marked by the feverish activity of the most reactionary elements here in our country to jail those who refuse to accept the status quo or to subscribe to an intensified armament race that has been geared to war. On the other hand there is the growing search for a peoples' unity that is daily more loudly voiced. In this groping, some will work with everyone who conscientiously struggles for constitutional liberties and peace, and others will work only with a select few. Those who seek an elite corps of pure defenders of democracy hurt the cause they espouse. jThere can be no doubt that the cause of peace demands the unity of progressive labor, the Negro people and the best, clearest, and most honest forces in the community. From such a united group, victory could not escape.

Undoubtedly the fascist-minded Americans are everywhere trying to find common ground. North and South, regardless of Party, they seek unity. The agreement to select concentration camps cuts across party lines; so too, will the agreement to use them. The Smith and McCarran Acts are the product of bi-partisan unity. The McCarran-Walters Act, which President Harry S. Truman vetoed because it shocked all democratic Americans, was passed over his veto by members of both major parties. Despite some minor differences, these gentlemen and ladies get together on what are, for them, essentials. Both are vitally interested in weakening the people's resistance. Both, with negligible exceptions, support or at least tolerate McCarthyism. Both, with still fewer exceptions, are agreed on the use of the most hideous of stool-pigeons, ex-Communists and informers as witnesses in the witch-hunts both instigate.

These points are being made by churchmen, professional and labor leaders. The Nation, a liberal magazine, carries an entire issue entitled "How Free is Free?" devoted to painting a picture of this scene, the nature and significance of the attacks upon constitutional liberties and civil rights. They should be written to and complimented. The question of unity is, however, not placed there and seldom is put forcibly or positively by liberal forces.

The last five years, which have seen many resolutions against the Smith and McCarran laws, bitter denunciation of the Taft-Hartley law and the perse cution of Negroes, have brought to all who can learn lessons of unity. Those who map the course of reaction know what they want and where they are going. The Dixiecrats know what they want. Those who have prepared concentration camps knc what they want. There are many contradictions among them, but their contradictions will not stop them. They can be stopped by democratic action, but they will not voluntarily end their terror. They are not to be persuaded of the error of their ways by arguments alone. Those who would save democracy must mobilize and unite and formulate a militant democratic program of action if they would really win the battle for freedom. It can be a minimum program, but there must be unity. From victories won, it follows that others can be won. The best testimony to this truism is a little pamphlet CRC has just issued called "The Reign of Witches." Jefferson won with the people, against those who wrote the Alien and Sedition Laws.

This battle must be won in the USA, for here history has placed great responsibilities to all fellowmen in our hands. We fight not only to help ourselves, we fight to help the cause of a world seeking a peoples'democracy.

The number one task then is the establishment of unity of action of progressive Americans regardless of color, creed, national origin or political belief. This action must be directed against the common enemy. A reading of the writngs on this question of the Zechariah Chaffees, the Commagers, the Bishops Paul B. Kern, the Carey McWilliams', the William O. Douglasses, leads us directly to the big manufacturers, those whom the late FDR called the economic royalists, as the common foe. Even these gentlemen cannot kid the hideous faces of the people's implacable enemies.

This fight for unity is a very severe struggle. We of the CRC must work at it as we have never worked at any other problem. We must have exceedingly great patience. We must knock on every door; see and talk with all who speak fearlessly against the terror in pulpit and forum. We must have the people's interest at heart. We must be ready to make sacrifices, appearing at city councils, state legislatures and Congressional hearings. We must fully understand that one can't be consistently for the Constitution if he or she is not clear as to those who daily violate it.

We should have patience with the views of others, but we do not abjectly surrender our principles because others disagree with them. The United front is accomplished in struggle, not through surrender. I believe that the open letter we sent to Mr. Walter White of the NAACP points the approach from the top to United Front action. It can be followed on a local scale. But if we do not get down to the people, a top approach no matter how favorable will not bring the result we want and must have to win.

The development of political campaigns and cases and the organization of these demands today continuous educational growth. If the people are to win real successes we must deal a death blow to a few old concepts that cling to us like an albatross around our necks.

It is said and now with great boldness that we cannot mount more than one campaign or handle more than one case at a time. This is a slander. It is a many-sided slander. Firstly, it slanders American ingenuity which is not confined to the realm of industry. Secondly, it expresses a lack of faith in the people. We have only the people, but they are millions and they are invincible. Often the first point is accompanied by a very "wise" and slyly-put question: "But where are the forces?" The answer is clear: in the community, the shops, on the streets,

everywhere that you find people. If we would mount more than one campaign we must trust the new forces. They will at least be free of the old canards. Among the ranks of labor, the layment and women in the church, the youth, are thousands who have heard of the resolutions their leaders have formulated and who want to implement these. That leadership does not have time or the machinery with which to go below with their splendid statements. We must carry these to the people. At this point, another concept goes out the window, that is: that we cannot build working permanent committees within the apparatus. We can if we WILL to.

Distrust of the people has narrowed and restricted our work and is partly at least responsible for liquidationist arguments. When we start a campaign our first move is generally toward the Negro people. When we seek funds, our first look is generally toward a Jewish friend. Both acts are tributes to those toward whom we orientate. They are, however, an insult to those we by-pass. The Negro community is, of course, unique in that only in the Negro ghettoes can we find halls in which to meet in many cities today. But to broaden the democratic concept and struggle, we must fight for halls and meeting places outside of as well as in the ghetto, even in the South.

Destroying the old defeatist concepts, we will mount more than one campaign at a time and handle many cases, for we will win and hold thousands of new people. More emphasis in certain districts for certain types of action and linking cases together is needed. We see that one common foe stands behind all persecution. The linking up can be done. Where you find an anti-Semite, you find an enemy of the Negro people, labor and the foreign-born, and usually an aggressive warmonger - - and vice versa.

The repeal of the Smith Act heads the list of campaigns. Logically and inseparably associated with this is the fight to prevent more victims being tortured under its provisions. We must secure the freedom of those who have already been victimized. The struggle for amnesty is a phase of the battle against the Smith Act. The prison doors can be forced open. Tens of thousands of Americans desire this. A committee has been established to realize this objective. CRC must not see this as competition. It is a challenge. It is a democratic form of competition. It does not preclude the development of our independent campaign, yet its existence calls for our cooperation. Competition and cooperation together! There is no contradiction here.

The struggle for the repeal of the Smith Act demands no weakening of the struggle against the white supremacists. It demands an intensification both of the fight against white chauvinism and the genocidal attacks upon the Negro people. It demands this course of procedure primarily because it demands the unity of Negro and white for a victory and secondly because both white and Negro must be shown how the Smith Act strengthens genocide and vice versa. The Harry T. Moore murder case is not finished; the Willie McGee murder case is not over. The Groveland case is being processed now. These cases will be finished when genocidal crimes are ended in our country. These "unsolved" crime lead the way back to the General Assembly of the United Nations. They support the demand that the ruling clique in our country should live up to the Universal Delcaration of Human Rights of the United Nations or be ousted from the United Nations and isolated. Think of the vitality and power to mobilize people that lie wrapped in the fact that the rulers of our country will spout democratic phrases everywhere and will not ratify a Convention to end genocide or a Declaration to respect human dignity, or pass an FEPC or even a Federal anti-lynch law.

The major cases at present are the freedom of Ben Davis - - this case fits into the category of amnesty cases and anti-genocide action; the cases of Rosalee Ingram and the saving of the life of Paul Washington: will either of these campaigns conflict with or harm in any way the magnificent struggle to get registration of Negroes and a vote in the South, or to elect Negro candidates? No. Nonsense! These cases reflect the tenor that reaction hopes will prevent registration. These truly splendid steps toward greater registration and the vote are enhanced by and strengthen the campaigns projected here. They are politically organizationally and educationally related.

Do these other campaigns harm the fight to free Benjamin J. Davis? Again, nonsense! Benjamin J. Davis' whole life is a symbol of this kind of freedom-struggle. This approach links the Smith Act and genocide like two fingers

of a glove.

We must bring an end to the Harold Christoffel case with the freedom of that courageous trade union leader. We must invoke the aid of labor for this; we must develop the unity of labor and the Negro people in struggle. I have not related two antagonistic or conflicting problems.

The Christoffel case is nearing completion in a manner favorable to labor and the people. Let us here prepare the steps needed to push it over. A victory in this will favorably affect all of our relations with the labor movement. Let us distribute the "Free Christoffel" leaflet and speak to labor about it.

We have proposed, in connection with the unity of labor and the Negro people, a magnificent plan of organization that has limitless political activities and educational values. It is the establishment of a National Labor Committee of One Thousand to Fight Genocide. Ben Gold, President of the International Fur & Leather Workers Union heads it. We will perhaps outline that plan and program in detail in the labor panel. I simply want to anticipate one adverse argument. Will this plan operate against the fight to repeal the Smith Act and to free the political prisoners? Again the answer is no. Thinking more clearly on labor-Negro unity will work miracles for us in every sphere of our work.

Prisoners' Relief has, in the not far distant past, done good work, but its possibilities are limitless. It is not now functioning as it should, and yet its moral vitality is unexcelled. We must determine the trouble and remedy it. The fight for a recognized status for political prisoners is one that has to be examined.

The case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg is one of the great civil rights cases of the era. CRC must find the ways and means of contributing to the fight to save these innocent people.

Lastly, but by no means last in terms of importance, is the contemplat action of the Subversive Activities Control Board. It has concluded its hearings. Twenty-two government witnesses filled 15,000 pages. There were stool-pigeons galore. Now there will be findings, not against the KKK or the murderers of Harry T. Moore, or the fascist-minded Kamps, Gerald L. K. Smiths and that crew however. The findings will be against leaders of the people and their organizations We more than all others must help to bring these organizations together to prepare the defense struggle. The Subversive Activities Control Board carries the key to the concentration camps. It will help compile the lists and it will fight desperately to fill the camps and now.

These are national questions, problems and tasks with which I have dealt. They are not, however, the property of the few who command the National office. They are the problems of CRC. If we cannot solve them, the present leadership must surrender their posts. If we are to solve them we must have a national organization with a national leadership that can hold the Districts responsible for their work. To argue that CRC is an historically necessary organization is to say positively that its tasks are possible of solution. No historically necessary organization exists which cannot resolve the problems and tasks with which it is confronted. Let us proceed to discuss our solutions and the national unity of CRC.

Today it is more than ever imperative that we follow the arguments of those who speak for the enemies of the Constitution, the Negro people, labor, and the foreign-born. The best of these, among periodicals, or maybe the worst, is U. S. News and World Report. This periodical should be closely followed. It often outlines in detail the plans of those who demand war and who, to assure it, would crush the constitutional institutions and aspirations of the people for justice and democracy. In one recent number it openly said that the people would have nothing to say as to the next President. That is true, but they can have something to say as to the next civil rights program.

Lastly, may I say that the progressive American people never had as many allies nor did our allies more correctly ever demand real actions on our part to help save world democracy and peace.

BUILDING CRC

We can and must build CRC. In the building of this vehicle of the people into a mighty organization through the further development of struggles against the racists of this country, through the linking of this fight with the one which is paramount the struggle for the repeal of the Smith Act and for amnesty, through the involvement of the trade union movement in the fight against Taft-Hartley and the acceptance by it of many of the struggles of the Negro people we guarantee great victories on the front of constitutional liberties, civil and human rights. Such victories would not determine all issues but such victories will profoundly influence the entire progressive battle front in America and even beyond our shores.

The ad hoc committees fighting for the repeal of the Smith Act, for amnesty must be strengthened. They are now vital auxiliaries. To build CRC as here projected is to take their moral arguments from all supporters of aggressive war. Thus the moral phase of the struggle here in America against white supremacy stands out with startling clarity. A war program which makes of despised, jim-crowed and disfranchised Negro lads a weapon of oppression against a colonial poeple has no moral foundation. Build CRC and the fight against repressive state and Federal legislation will advance with tremendous strides; so too will the fight against white chauvinism. We can build CRC. Let us here prepare for work.

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ABRIDGED REPORT

of

NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY

for meeting of NATIONAL BOARD

Chicago, July 7, 1952

Abraham Lincoln, in a debate with Douglas, declared: "Public sentiment is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it nothing can succeed. Consequently he who moulds public sentiment goes deeper than he who enacts statutes and pronounces decisions. He makes statutes and decisions possible or impossible to be executed."

With Linccoln's statement we concur, and we see this as the job of CRC organization--to mould public sentiment. But we go further. After moulding the sentiment of the people, we must organize it and move it into forms of effective expression, so that those who are responsible for the violation of our constituional and human rights will be made to retreat, or at least pause.

We have in the past worked out, and today we have, a correct program. It is the organization of CRC that will determine the effectiveness of this program. Whether it will remian on paper, or move millions of people depends upon organization. No matter how correct our program, if we fail to take the correct organizational steps, or if we lack the organizational strength required to carry out the program, no program on earth can succeed. The program is the blueprint; the organization is the factory and the workers which turn the blueprint into the finished automobile.

During the two-year period since our last National Board meeting, our main weakness has been organizational. Therefore it is imperative that this coming Board meeting dig deeply into and solve our most important organizational problems--else its deliberations may well prove futile.

What is the Organizational Strength of CRC?

Since the effectiveness of the campaigns we produce is one way to judge the effectiveness of our organization, one might think that there is no basis for the statement that our main weakness is organizational. Did we not rock the world in our campaign to save the life of Willie McGee, moving tens of millions of people and key organizations in the United States and throughout the world? Did we not raise the struggle against white supremacy to new heights in the struggle to save the lives of the Martinsville Seven? Did we not throw the hot hands of the lynchers off the shoulder of our William Patterson, after moving millions of communicants of the Negro churches and their leaders into action? Did we not, according to Lt. Gilbert himself, make a significant contribution to the saving of his life? Did we not achieve a momentous victory in the Supreme Court decision of the Denver

Three, establishing the constitutional right against self-incrimination?

Despite these great offensives, and these mass movements and these victories, it is still correct to say that our organization, even judged by our campaign effectiveness, leaves a great deal to be desired.

For after all, Willie McGee was executed. Ever-widening circles of the people could have been reached and moved, and thereby we could have saved his life. The same is true for the Martinsville Seven. And Lt. Gilbert is still in a military prison. Moreover, the movement we created on these cases was created at the expense of neglect of almost all other CRC issues and cases during a substantial part of the time since the last Board meeting. A stronger organization would have made this neglect unnecessary. And did not our weakness in organization cause a relapse after the execution of Willie McGee similar to that which is suffered by the individual who strains his body beyond its normal strength? Had we grown substantially in membership and chapters in the course of these great campaigns, they would have been much stronger. They could have been combined with activity on many of the other major issues that required our attention; and we would not have suffered the relapse which made it difficult for us to get our organization into motion for months after May 8, 1951. Our achievements in these cases attest to the superhuman efforts put forward by our organization and our wonderful people but our organizational weakness cannot be denied. Later, we will discuss the organizational strength that these campaigns did disclose, as well as the weaknesses.

We are facing a period of trial compared to which the attacks of the past will seem Lilliputian. Long steps toward fascism are being taken; genocidal attacks are increasing in number and intensity; for the first time the Government is seeking to outlaw ideas; the labor movement is in a fight for its life; and McCarthyism and guilt by association have become the "law of the land." If prestige or correct program were enough, CRC could easily measure up to the needs of the moment. But they aren't. So let us consider what is the organizational strength of CRC. Reasons of time and technical difficulties require that the treatment of this question be brief, but at the Board meeting we will put meat on the bones.

In terms of their ability to mobilize key sections of their communities, we have strong chapters today in the following cities: Los Angeles, San Francisco, Oakland, Seattle, Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Philadelphia and New York. We have up and coming chapters which give promise within the immediate future of reaching the same status, in Denver, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Honolulu. Ignoring remnants of former chapters and small committees, there are a number of key cities where we have at present no chapters, such as Washington, D.C., New Orleans, Birmingham, Memphis, Atlanta, Richmond, Buffalo, Youngstown, Cincinnati, Kansas City, Indianapolis. We have beginnings of chapters in Baltimore and Boston. In total, we have chapters in 33 cities. Our total membership (which must be estimated, because of the failure of many chapters to file reports with the national office) is seven thousand. State organizations exist in Washington, Wisconsin and New Jersey. Partially functioning state organizations exist in Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut.

At the last Board meeting, we adopted a program for a membership campaign to reach a total of 40,000 members within a fewmonths. Despite that drive and the two years of great struggles that have passed, our total membership is little more than it was then. The best estimate that can be made is that we are about one thousand members larger than we were at that time. The only key city in which we then had a chapter and do not now is New O rleans. Our present chapters in Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Honolulu were not then in existence.

Why Have We Not Grown?

We have grown a little numerically; and in some small degree by creation of chapters in key industrial areas; and by strengthening of our strong chapters. But the basic fact is that we have failed to grow. This Board meeting must provide the answer to why we failed to grow, so that we will now begin to grow into a mass organization, and so that there will be no key city in the country where we do not have a thriving chapter.

It is obvious that our lack of growth cannot be blamed on the "red scafe" or any other objective conditions. Let me give a simple little illustration to show that it is impossible to blame objective conditions for our failure.

During this period the Los Angeles district recruited more than two hundred people per month, for several different months. What would have happened if Los Angeles had simply continued to recruit 200 members every month of the year.

Assuming that Los Angeles started with a thousand members two years ago, if they recruited 2400 new members each year (even if half of the new members were lost by the time the next year rolled around) their total m embership at the end of the two years would be 4100, which is more than half of the membership we show nationally. And the same goes for every chapter. If every chapter simply continued its best month of recruiting constantly through the year, even with a loss of half of the new members each year, we would have a total of 25,000 members at the time of this Board meeting.

As our National Executive Secretary has repeatedly demonstrated, and as is confirmed by the experience of every chapter, we can recruit tens of thousands of new members. It goes without saying that most of them can be retained. What are the reasons, then, why we have not grown?

I would say, in the first place, that we failed to appreciate the mass appeal of our CRC program. We underestimated the people, for while we recognized that they would join fight against white supremacy or in the fight for the rights of labor or against the suppression of minority political parties, we thought that they understood the issues too little to be willing to become members of CRC. In particular, we failed to appreciate the political and moral vitality of the struggle against genocide, and especially the willingness of the Negro people to join with us in this fight. Moreover, we underestimated the understanding of white workers that in their own interest they must fight against white supremacy. We even have failed to recruit into CRC many white people who participated in the most militant kind of activities on behalf of Willie McGeee.

In the second place, we did not see clearly the absolute necessity for a mass membership CRC. We failed to give this the attention it needed because we felt that somehow we could get along without the mass membership, seeing something apparently, (Iknow not what) that would take its place.

In the third place, some sections of our organization, their vision obscured by the tear-gas of red-baiting, were unable to see the practical possibilities of recruiting tens of thousands into CRC.

In the fourth place, we showed both on the national and local levels many organizational weaknesses in the planning and carrying through of a membership campaign and ordinary day-to-day recruiting. We forgot that no organization can grow spontaneously; that it requires carefully organized planning and check-up.

In the fifth place, we did not have the organizational set-up nationally by which to create new chapters where they did not exist or give personal attention to weak chapters. This would have required probably two people working in the field full time to give the kind of attention needed to create new chapters and to help solve the recruiting problems of new or weak chapters. Our national staff is not large enough to spare such forces. Nor did we have a system of state organizations of CRC which could and would take over this responsibility.

If the chapters will ask themselves the question "Why did we not grow"; and then if we gather together and combine and analyze these conclusions of the chapters at our Board meeting, we will have the answer. To help the chapters make this analysis, I would like to ask some concrete questions:

1. How extensively did we use William Patterson to recruit new members and build new chapters? Was there any meeting at which he spoke where he could not have produced tens or hundreds of new members, or any city in which he spoke, or could have spoken, where a chapter could not have resulted from his speech?

2. What responsibility did the leading officials of the chapter take in the building of membership? In how many of their major speeches did membership get prominent attention?

3. In how many of the chapter's Executive Committee meetings was membership on the agenda?

We can achieve a mass membership following this National Board meeting if we (1) carry through a thorough-going analysis of reasons for our failure up until now; (2) decide that the primary task of our whole organization during the coming period is to make CRC into a mass organization; (3) adopt the proper organizational steps (suggestions for which appear at the end of this report).

It was necessary, I believe, to present very sharply the problem of our failure to grow and indicate that as the primary problem for our National Board meeting. At the same time, it would be wrong to create any impression that our organization is not much stronger now than it was two years ago. The elements that give that added strength are the following: (1) the building of chapters in key industrial cities where they did not exist before, and their strengthening in other such

cities; (2) a larger network of chapters; (3) much greater prestige attaching to the national and the local organizations which, though intangible, is a real element of strength; (4) much closer ties to the labor movement, with consequent ability to move the labor movement more fully on key issues, and more often; (5) closer ties with broad forces, especially in the churches, on both national and local levels; (6) more experienced CRC leadership on national, local and community levels; (7) education of the people whom we have moved, the kind of education that can come only through struggle and which makes it easier to move the people in the future; and (8) the growing acceptance by the more progressive forces of CRC as the coordinating organization in the field of civil rights.

The past two years have proved the correctness and the importance of an organizational form which, up until now, we have only permitted but have not planned for. This is the creation of state organizations of CRC. State organizations are correct not just for the negative reason that the national office cannot provide the field organizers, therefore the local areas must. They should be seen rather as something which will strengthen our organization by bringing our chapters closer to the national organization, since they permit consultation in person rather than typewriter contacts. This form also permits the development of statewide and local issues in a more thoroughgoing fashion and permits the flexibility which must govern us in terms of program and organization, if we are to be a mass organization. Finally, it gives full freedom for the development of the abilities of the local leadership of CRC, and provides that kind of experience which will make possible their full participation as part of a collective national leadership of the organization.

CRC as a Coordinating Organization

A total CRC campaign breaks down into three aspects: (1) work done directly by the CRC organization; (2) coordination, stimulation and assistance by the CRC of the more progressive forces and organizations; and (3) stimulation and assistance by CRC to the movement of the conservative organizations. To judge properly the strength and effectiveness of CRC, we must include all three aspects. But what is not sufficiently understood, both within CRC and without, is that the first is primary to the others. Without a substantial amount of campaigning done directly by the CRC organization, there is not going to be any coordination of progressive forces worth noting, and the more conservative organizations cannot be moved. Sometimes there is a tendency on the part of CRC people to condemn progressive organizations or people because they do not react so quickly to the CRC campaigns as we would wish, or because they do not permit us to coordinate them and their activities. Without attempting to evaluate this criticism, the facts of life are that only to the extent that the CRC develops a substantial campaign independently through its own organization will it be able to move other progressive forces into action, and be accepted as the coordinator of the campaign. In the same way, only such a substantial independent campaign of CRC will be able to guarantee movement of the more conservative organizations. Often these organizations (concededly) act simply so that the field will not be left to us, but always they act more readily if our work is such as to spur on their rank and file membership.

As of now, it is roughly accurate to say that the progressive organizations accept CRC as the coordinator in the civil rights field. This is a virtue, but sometimes it develops into a vice. A few of our chapters, limited

by their lack of a mass base, conceive it to be their function simply to take over the mass base of other progressive organizations to carry out a campaign. It is perhaps this ability to use the membership of another organization that prevented some CRC leaders from appreciating the importance of CRC's having a mass membership. A CRC organization which is not big enough and strong enough to carry on campaigns independently cannot long exist. And a CRC without independent strength will not long be accepted as a coordinating organization.

This coordinating function of CRC is capable of much greater effectiveness if it is properly organized. There is no formula which determines the organizational form that such coordination should take. It might be, first, that which was developed by our San Francisco organization, to which are affiliated a number of unions and other progressive organizations, who send delegates as members of the CRC Board, representing their organizations.

Wherever possible, CRC committees should be developed in these organizations. Their function will be to carry some CRC campaigns into the organization to which they belong, and to recruit members therefrom for CRC. Where affiliation is not practical, the CRC should examine the possibility of regular meetings with the organizations that otherwise would be called upon only to join in an emergency campaign.

The CRC Chapter

All active CRC people have long since learned that membership without a chapter is well-nigh useless. Such membership cannot be activated or retained. Still there are a number of smaller cities where we have some degree of organization but do not have chapters functioning; and within larger cities there are many communities within which live substantial numbers of CRC members, but where no chapters have been built. Until our membership is much larger, one chapter will suffice for smaller cities, but in all cities of, let us say, over 100,000, more than one chapter is needed. How many chapters are appropriate depends on the territorial spread of the city, its national groupings and other local considerations. The advantages of building chapters in the local communities are the following: (1) Meetings of the chapter, and its various committees, will be close, convenient, easy to attend; (2) Fellow members will be local community people who are known, or more knowable and seeable; (3) New members of CRC will feel more able and willing to accept chapter positions on a neighborhood rather than a city-wide scale; (4) Community issues will be taken up; these are the sources of strength, prestige, and recruiting; (5) Building of local chapters permits concentration on a limited section of the city; the forces we have at present are limited so that unless we concentrate we do not build at all; this concentration is an additional source of strength because areas can be selected which are most productive, either because of their composition or previous work done in them.

There are two wrong theories with reference to chapters that are to be found in CRC, sometimes expressed in words, but often only in action. One is the theory that many chapters should be kept on a stand-by basis, not meeting, not involving their membership in activity, but waiting until an emergency campaign will bring them out of hibernation. The fact is that when a stand-by chapter is created, the chapter does not stand by; it isn't there when needed. Chapters either exist or do not exist, as many local organizations have found out to their dismay. Once a chapter has been permitted to lapse, neither a long record of useful activity or great prestige in the community, or any other

factor, will make it easy to revive. It is sometimes easier to create a new chapter than to revive a chapter that has been very effective in the past.

The second erroneous theory is that somehow a committee or a loose group of a small number of individuals can carry on CRC activities almost as well as a chapter. In fact, CRC leaders often make the mistake of describing such committees or individuals as chapters. Whether the purpose is to present the situation as better than it actually is, or whether it represents organizational naivete, it reflects a fundamental lack of understanding of the chapter as the basic form of organization of CRC.

In the main, our CRC leadership does not build chapters because they do not sufficiently understand their importance. If they regarded this as the key which would make possible the development of a mass campaign, then they would find nothing more important to do than building chapters. This is not to give the impression that building chapters is easy. Always it is possible, but never is it easy. It is unnecessary to probe more deeply into this question of how to build chapters, because it will be covered by the sub-reports on "How to Build a Mass Membership;" "How to Function on the Full Program of CRC;" and "How to Move the More Conservative Organizations."

One point, however, it is important to make: The greatest cause of fatalities among our chapters is the sickness which might be described as the "one-man" or one-woman" leadership. How common it is for us in the national office to watch with pride the activities of a growing chapter--only to find one day that this thriving group has passed out of existence! Upon inquiry, we find the explanation that "So-and-so went away," -- or got a job, or went to another organization. And there must be again as many such stories to explain the high mortality rate among neighborhood chapters.

This situation is impermissible, (1) because we cannot let that type of organization which is key to the functioning of CRC depend upon the presence of one individual; (2) nor can we approve a method of operation which does not involve a large share of the membership in the leadership of the chapter. As a matter of fact, in every chapter, from among the new members there can be brought forward the most splendid kind of leadership, capable in the first instance of developing an active chapter, to go on later to local or national leadership. The test of real leadership is in the bringing forward of new leadership.

From every part of our organization we hear the cry, "We need forces! Give us people," they say, "and we can do all the jobs we have to do." But the chapters have people--hundreds of them. To deny this is not to see what it means when a man or woman joins CRC. People join because they understand the need to fight and are willing to work and to sacrifice. As a matter of fact, it sometimes seems incredible how much effective work one new member of CRC can do. Every chapter has had the experience of discovering the new member who, with the slightest encouragement, is able to develop a campaign almost by his own efforts. There is no contradiction between a statement on the importance of collective work in the chapter and an understanding of how much a single individual can do. It would be worth while to study the totality of the campaign which, for example, Harold Christoffel was able to wage, practically by himself, visiting hundreds of unions, on his own case. Or it would be good to hear and learn from the experience of Los Angeles, which saw the cousin of Wesley Robert Wells, a new member, practically build a tremendous

campaign by his own efforts around his cousin's case. Or there is the example from New York of a single rank and filer who raised several thousand dollars for CRC in a few months.

The Women Stand Out

One of the most encouraging aspects within CRC organizations is the development of a core of outstanding women leaders at every level, and in every phase of the struggle. We must naturally begin with those who have already achieved not only leadership but also a measure of greatness: Rosalee McGee, Bessie Mitchell, Josephine Grayson, Jane Rogers, Amy Mallard.

As we know, the key to the proper functioning of CRC is the work of our chapters. Despite the road blocks that are always being placed in the way of women, nevertheless we find women in the leadership of many of our key chapters; Marguerite Robinson in Los Angeles, Ida Rothstein in San Francisco, Decca Treuhaft in Oakland, Josephine Nordstrand in Milwaukee, Ann Shore in Detroit, Frieda Katz in Cleveland, Evelyn Abelson in Pittsburgh, Yetta Land in Phoenix, Elaine Ross in Brooklyn, and Jean Taylor in New York.

Women are also prominent in the leadership of such chapters as San Diego, St. Louis, Connecticut, Gary Minneapolis, Newark, Anacortes, Everett, Sedro-Woolley and Olympia. California, where the executive officer of each of the four chapters is a woman, constitutes a challenge to CRC in the rest of the country. And the story would not be complete if we did not mention the great contributions of Anne Braden and Winifred Feise in the South, Angie Dickerson of the Patterson Defense Committee, Stella Shepard of the Prisoners Relief Committee, and Doris Mallard of the New York CRC Youth Chapter.

There is no chapter which has not had the experience of seeing how their active women members were able to open doors that were never before opened to us, and when we realize the tremendous potential of leadership for CRC still virtually untapped because of male supremacist ideas, it is clear that we must seek out and destroy any barriers to the rise of women to leadership positions. In fact a very pointed question which might be asked is: How does it happen that women who have been the backbone of chapter leadership in many key chapters from the beginning have not been represented in the top national leadership of CRC since its formation?

The Unions and CRC

What CRC needs is a trade union backbone, and we don't have it. Why do we need it? Because this, and this alone, will guarantee the strength, the stability and the militancy of our organization. It would help us get into the fight for labor's rights, which is now shaping up as the fight for the very existence of unions. Such a backbone would enable us to explain to labor its self-interest in the fight against white supremacy and the fight against the Smith Act.

Unless we are able to convince the majority of the working class of this country, white supremacy and the Smith Act cannot be defeated. It should be clear to us that on the agenda is the fight against fascism. The lesson of Germany, which we must learn, is that fascism can be defeated only with the organized opposition of the overwhelming majority of the labor movement.

By what organizational steps shall CRC acquire a trade union backbone? First and foremost by making sure that a large proportion of our membership is made up of union members. And the best guarantee of this is to recruit them right out of the unions. Herein lies a good deal of the importance of CRC committees inside the unions. Another method is to concentrate on building neighborhood chapters in those areas in which union members predominate.

Attached to the national office is a Labor Advisory Committee to CRC, though in actual fact, except on rare occasions, it operates as if it were part of the New York district, rather than the national office. This Committee is made up of representatives from unions located in the New York area. Its activities will be detailed in a separate report that we will have in time for the Board meeting.

In cooperation with the Labor Advisory Committee there is now in the process of formation a Committee of a Thousand to Fight Genocide. Though the plans have not been finally worked out, this Committee will be made up of union officials and leading union members and will work with, but will have no organizational ties with, CRC.

The San Francisco chapter solidifies its relations with a number of unions by having them affiliate directly to CRC, and providing for their representation on the local executive board. The Chicago chapter not only has trade unionists on its board, but its chairman is a prominent trade unionist.

That we do not yet know the answer to the problem of giving organizational form to the closer relationship which is growing up between CRC and a number of unions is clear. Perhaps the answer is a combination of the forms mentioned above. Organizational proposals will undoubtedly result from the discussions on this question at the National Board meeting.

The Negro People and CRC

Literally millions of the Negro people have been moved into action by the CRC against the different agencies of government, through our campaigns around the Trenton Six, the Martinsville Seven, Willie McGee, Lieutenant Gilbert, Mrs. Ingram and "We Charge Genocide." Thousands of Negroes have become members of CRC, and certainly tens of thousands more would join if given an invitation. From the ranks of the Negro people who already have joined CRC, and will join CRC, we can find the leadership, and the potential leadership, that is capable of filling ten times over, perhaps a hundred times over, all the demands that are coming from our chapters for "forces," "people," "actives," and "leaders." What's wrong? What are some of the factors that keep many of the Negro people out of our ranks, or, if they are members, out of active participation in our organization?

One factor, which seems to be a contradiction though it is not, is our failure to give sufficient attention to moving white people in the struggle against white supremacy. The Negro people, by and large, will have confidence in CRC's sincerity and ability to do the job, to the extent that it "does a job" among white people. In other words, the recruiting of white people to CRC will produce, as a corollary, the recruiting of Negroes, and their greater participation in the affairs of the organization.

Another factor is the tendency to take the Negro people for granted--to assume that they must come to us; that we deserve their support; that they should join our ranks because of the fight we carried on in the past, rather than the fight we are carrying on today.

Another factor is that some of our white leadership, having unconsciously absorbed some of the same white supremacy ideas against which CRC fights, are reluctant to (or cannot) recognize the abilities of the Negro people in the organization.

If we can overcome these obstacles the Negro people offer a tremendous reservoir of strength in their militancy, their working-class closeness to the people, their relative freedom from illusions, and their great loyalty and warmth for CRC.

However, the very ease with which Negro people can be drawn into membership and participation in CRC sometimes leads us into a far from correct orientation in our organizational work. Oftentimes there is a tendency to concentrate all our chapter building and our membership building in Negro neighborhoods and among Negro people. This is the organizational corollary to the same tendency to neglect the white workers in planning our campaigns against white supremacy. A simple litmus paper test, which any chapter can apply, as to whether it is committing this error, is to ask this question: Where have we sold "We Charge Genocide"? In our plan that we have worked out for the balance of this year, is it contemplated that the majority of the copies will be sold to Negroes or white people?

Despite these errors, committed at some times and some places, we are beginning to maintain a correct balance in our political and organizational work in mobilizing and recruiting Negro and white people. Out of this is growing that which distinguishes CRC from other organizations and is a source of great strength to us -- a Negro-white leadership. To continue the development of this kind of leadership requires constant attention and struggle -- both in the search for leadership potential from among our growing group of CRC actives, and the fight against white-supremacist hangovers which retard the development of Negro leadership. Of what we have we can be proud, but let there be no complacency; we still have a long way to go.

Moving the Broader Organizations

Though this question will be covered at the Board meeting by a special report, its importance merits a few remarks here.

It would be very strange if, in the face of our experiences of the last two years, any active worker in the CRC could deny the possibility of moving the broadest kind of organizations, of a type decisive in our country's political life, on campaigns pushed by CRC. For the doubting Thomases, it should be sufficient to refer to one of the most influential leaders in the country of the white Baptist Church, who listened to Mrs. McGee's story and then set out to move certain of his key contacts in the South. One of these contacts lined up a number of white Baptist clergymen in Mississippi to contact Governor Fielding Wright and himself telephoned Governor Wright, around midnight, a few minutes before the execution of Willie McGee. Or one might refer to the action of the CIO, not only advocating the repeal of the Smith Act, and condemning the Supreme Court decision in the case of the Communist leaders, but also agreeing

to its own independent campaign for Smith Act repeal. Or we might mention the involvement, in one way or another, of an overwhelming proportion of the Negro church in the defense of our own William Patterson.

Despite such examples, and they can -- and at the Board meeting will -- be multiplied a hundredfold, large sections of the CRC act as if they have no confidence in our ability to move anything beyond the "left." In my opinion, this attitude stems not from failure to understand the possibilities but from other causes: One, sectarian methods of work grown so fixed that, almost without thought, a program is laid out, and action taken on it which aims almost entirely at the "left." Or even when it purports to aim at the "right," it is so little thought out that the methods of approach, the actions proposed, and the sequence of development of the campaign, virtually exclude anything but the "left." Two, a lack of understanding of how to move; in fact even how to approach the more conservative organizations; in some extreme cases a lack of knowledge of who they are. Three, a lack of boldness, a timidity, in approaching the more conservative organizations. Four, a feeling that you must either act through the CRC or the broader organizations, and you cannot do both. The contrary is true, for the greater the activity of CRC the more the possibility of moving the other kinds of organizations. Five, a failure to realize that these days, under the conditions in which we work, the united front with the more conservative organizations works along parallel lines. It is like railroad tracks. Both rails go to the same place. Both are equally important to the train; in fact, if the Civil Rights Express is to go anywhere, these are the only conditions under which it can move.

At the Board meeting it would be well to discuss the question of red-baiting, and whether it operates as a drag on CRC activity and organization. It should suffice to say here that red-baiting has not interfered with CRC moving the broadest kind of organizations, on every type of issue.

Arguments We Must Answer

There is a saying that goes something like this: "Please God, protect me from my friends; I can take care of my enemies." All of us know that many of our friends, even some of our active CRC people, hold a number of ideas which are harmful to the growth and strengthening of CRC. It is our responsibility as leaders of CRC to be crystal clear as to how to answer these ideas, and then to challenge them and overcome them wherever and whenever they show themselves. Notice should be taken of the fact that these ideas rarely exhibit themselves as nakedly as they are set out here, but nevertheless it should not be too difficult to recognize them in the forms they do take.

These are the main ideas:

1. CRC is too "red".

2. Conservative organizations are more important to build and work in.

3. It is more important to coordinate the "left" than to try to build membership and chapters.

4. There are so many other issues more important at the moment; therefore CRC should be built as a stand-by organization to be used in emergencies.

5. Since it is important to achieve breadth, whenever issues arise, independent committees should be set up to deal with them.

Other sections of this report lay the basis for providing the answer to a number of these arguments. Discussion in the chapters and in the National Board meeting should provide the further clarity which is needed to make effective answers to them.

CRC Literature

We may be quite proud, with justification we think, of our record of publications since the last National Board meeting. This is especially true because of the struggle and sacrifice which (in the light of our constant financial crisis) was required for the publication of each item. Excluding leaflets, and short brochures, this is the list:

Voices for Freedom I
Voices for Freedom II
Censored News
Crisis I
Crisis II
Crisis III
Civil Rights News
Lawyers Under Fire
The Reign of Witches
The Pittsburgh Story
The Heat is On
We Charge Genocide
Peekskill, U.S.A.
The People's Champion
We Demand Freedom
Open Letter to Walter White
Fact Sheets:
Willie McGee
William Patterson
Rosa Lee Ingram
Trenton Six
Paul Washington
Foley Square

We want also to praise the initiative and the organizational know-how shown by four of our chapters, in publishing the following pamphlets:

Los Angeles: Civil Rights Congress Tells the Story
Oakland: The Jerry Newson Story
San Francisco: My Name is Wesley Robert Wells
Philadelphia: The Right to Speak for Peace (on Steve Nelson)

A rough total of the number of copies of these publications which have been distributed is close to a million.

Though the list is imposing, so, too, is the total number of copies, yet as an organization, our use of literature leaves a great deal to be desired. Examining our records since last October 15 (prior to which they are incomplete) and excluding "We Charge Genocide" and "Peekskill", we find the following situation: Of the 13 items of literature then current, only the state of Washington district ordered as many as eight items. Thereafter, in order, Detroit and Milwaukee 7, Boston and San Francisco 6, Chicago 5, Philadelphia 4, and our otherwise fine chapter, Oakland, only one. The only chapters that ordered a satisfactory quantity, in terms of number of items and number of copies, were: Seattle, Detroit, Milwaukee, New York, Boston, San Francisco and Chicago. Only eighteen chapters ordered any literature all all since October 15.

Space in this report is too limited to justify a discussion of the great loss to the civil rights struggle in general, and to the chapters in

particular, which is represented by the failure to make a mass distribution of our literature.

We believe that every chapter should have a thorough, self-critical discussion, of the literature question, out of which discussion (we are sure) will flow substantial orders and a plan of work by which the use of this literature will be coordinated with our mass campaigns and the building of our organization.

CRC Organization in the South

Everyone agrees, and has for some time, that we must have a strong CRC in the South. Yet good resolutions, and the setting up of committees, and the best of intentions have thus far not sufficed to overcome the difficulty which stands in the way.

Today, and increasingly every day, the need for and the possibility of a CRC in the South increases. Genocide is on the increase, in quantity and in intensity, throughout the country and especially in the South. The cause is to be found partially in the racial war in Korea. Mainly, perhaps, it is to be found in the steady increase of Wall Street's penetration into the South, the billions of dollars being invested in new giant industrial plants. While not denying the great responsibility of the people in the rest of the country to fight against genocide in the South, still it cannot be denied that blows against genocide which derive from the white and Negro working class of the South will be the most telling. There is a basis for movement, instigated and led by CRC, which will involve important sections of the people in a number of key Southern cities, such as New Orleans, Louisville, Atlanta, Richmond, Winston-Salem, Memphis and Miami. The form of organization it will take in the South, it is not possible or necessary to spell out at this time.

There is one basic difficulty, and only one, which stands between us and CRC organization of the South, and that is financial. If that is solved we can solve all other difficulties and problems. At the end of this report a proposal is made that must be thoroughly thrashed out at the National Board, and a determination made as to whether we are prepared to assume this long-delayed task.

Proposals

State CRC organization

1. Adopt the principle of building state organizations of CRC.

2. State organizations to be continued or immediately built in the following states: California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Colorado, Missouri, Illinois-Indiana (joint), Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York.

3. State organizations to be led by one of the present chapter or district leaders.

4. The state organizations to accept responsibility for building CRC chapters in areas where they do not now exist.

5. Where feasible, hold state conferences as soon as possible with emphasis on representation from areas where no organization exists at present.

National Membership campaign

1. Decide upon a national membership campaign.

2. Goal - 7500 new members.

3. Period - September, October, November

4. Every area in country to be reached by a tour of William Patterson or Rosalee McGee, devoted mainly to chapter and membership building. Every meeting on the tour to be devoted to creating a new chapter or obtaining a large number of new members.

5. Issuance of a definitive and dramatic piece of literature, "What is CRC?", to be sold to the chapters for one cent a copy.

Organizing the South

1. Accept the goal of organizing CRC in the South as necessary and realizable.

2. Decide on the immediate goal of building in six key cities in the South.

3. Agree upon a realistic financial program that will guarantee the first year of operation, and secure hard and fast commitments.

Conclusion

CRC is an organization of great strength which has demonstrated its ability to move millions of the American people into action. But it does not have the strength required to meet its responsibilities to the people during this period. Nor has it the strength to guarantee the carrying out of the program that inevitably must come out of this meeting of the National Board. There is no other answer but that CRC must become a mass membership organization, with effective chapters in every key city in the country.

CRC has the program; the Board meeting will work out the means; we have the people to do the job; we cannot fail.

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Res 7-9-52
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Rwb 7-17-52

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DRAFT RESOLUTION

GENOCIDE

This past year the world has heard the challenge "We Charge Genocide, the Crime of Government Against the Negro People".

The Civil Rights Congress takes great pride in its forthright position as the organization which brought this dramatic indictment of the Government of the United States before the court of world opinion.

The Civil Rights Congress pays enthusiastic tribute to its National Executive Secretary, William L. Patterson, for his heroic efforts to place this accusation before the United Nations, for his untiring campaign to demand justice, redress and equality for the Negro people of the United States, and for his ceaseless efforts to forge unity of Negro and white.

But genocide insidiously advances as a policy of government. The lynch system extends its frontier and moves north. In New York a Negro student is shot down in cold blood. Two Negro men are assassinated by a racist, illegally armed, ex-policeman. The murderer is acquitted by an all-white jury. Homes are bombed, not alone in Florida, but in California and Illinois. Official complicity is clear, but unpunished.

The charge of genocide remains, in the words of Walter White, "a most damning indictment". Those responsible must be made to answer for their crimes against the Negro people, against the moral integrity of all Americans, against the decency of humanity.

The Civil Rights Congress calls all white Americans to struggle against the demoralizing and dehumanizing effect of jim crow, the lynch system, and for Negro equality. The conscience of America will be restored in no other way. We call on Negro Americans to close ranks and form a solid phalanx against jim crow, lynching, police terror and the ghetto. We call on labor, in its own interests, to speak out with firm voice against discrimination and for FEPC. We call upon the American people, led by heroic white men, women and youth, to offer mass violation to jim crow laws in public places. The possibilities for passive resistance to jim crow in all its forms must be seriously but fully explored in the United States.

We call on all Americans, Negro, white, labor to join unbreakable forces and deliver decisive blows against the germ warfare of white supremacy. We request that all such attacks be carried to the United Nations and that vigorous mass protests be registered with the Commission for Human Rights.

Rec 7-9-52
JGB
7-17-52

DRAFT RESOLUTION

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PUERTO RICO

Even as the United States, through its Washington Government, seeks to appear before the world as the creator, protector and exporter of ultimate democracy, this nation perpetuates and extends inhuman crimes against millions of its citizens living under colonial rule on the island of Puerto Rico.

The conditions of exploitation in which these heroic people are forced to live in Puerto Rico are likewise visited upon them when they seek haven within the United States. Second class citizenship, the brutality of police, miserable living conditions, menial employment are alike their lot on the island and on the mainland.

The civil and human rights of the Puerto Rican people are daily and callously violated. The Puerto Rican version of the Smith Act keeps over 300 of its citizens presently in the island prisons. Police brutality committed upon Puerto Ricans in New York and elsewhere is a regular and unpunished occurrence.

The Civil Rights Congress summons all Americans concerned with the protection of their own constitutional liberties and civil and human rights to speak out for an end to the exploitation of, and the criminal attacks upon the Puerto Rican people, and calls for immediate and complete independence for Puerto Rico.

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Cleveland, Ohio
September 15, 1952

MEMO SAC

[redacted] furnished the writer on July 17, 1952 a one page mimeographed leaflet which informant received on July 16, 1952 captioned "Hoodlum Attacks Must Stop" which concerns the fight organized by the Civil Rights Congress in Cleveland to defend NATHANIEL WOODEN, a negro steel worker, who was beaten by a mob in the Mayfield area of Cleveland. This leaflet announces a meeting to be held July 12th at the Grace Church 2631 East 55th Street to plan a course of action on the defense of WOODEN. b7D

This leaflet will be filed in 66-35 Sub 264 Sub A.

[redacted] b6 b7C
SA

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CC: 100-17087

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66-35 Sub 264 SA-206

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Rec 7-16-52
HB.
Ans 7-17-52

HOODLUM ATTACKS MUST STOP!

DEFEND NATHANIEL WOODEN--

Nathaniel Wooden, a Negro steelworker, was brutally beaten by a hoodlum mob last Sunday. Wooden is the 6th person attacked by this gang of white supremicist hoodlums in the Mayfield area. All were assaulted because they were Negroes.

Wooden was with Miss Butler and was picking up a friend of Miss Butler who was an employee of a cafe in that area.

These attacks must be stopped. No individual whether he be Negro or White will be safe from these KKK-like hoodlum attacks if we permit this attack to go unchallanged.

We must rally to the defense of Mr. Wooden--

ATTEND AN ACTION MEETING

GRACE A M E CHURCH
2631 East 55th St.
(Rev. J.V. Moore, Pastor)

SATURDAY, JULY 12th, 8:30 P.M.

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labor donated

Issued by: Committee to Defend NathanielWooden

Cleveland, Ohio
September 15, 1952

MEMO SAC

[redacted] furnished the writer on July 17, 1952 the following items of literature: b7D

1. A 24 page printed booklet captioned "Lawyers Under Fire". This booklet was printed by the Civil Rights Congress, 23 West 26th Street, New York, New York and concerns the sentencing for contempt by Judge HAROLD MEDINA, of the 5 lawyers defending the 11 Communist leaders in the Spring of 1949.
2. A 16 page printed leaflet captioned "The Right to Speak for Peace" which is a leaflet concerning the sedition trial of members of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

   This booklet was printed by the Pennsylvania Civil Rights Congress, 205 Hardt Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

3. A 31 page printed booklet captioned "We Demand Freedom" which contains 2 addresses by WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, National Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress. This booklet was likewise issued by the Civil Rights Congress, New York City.

These items will be filed in 66-35 Sub 264 Sub A.

[redacted] b6 b7C
SA

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RWB 7-17-52

LAWYERS UNDER FIRE

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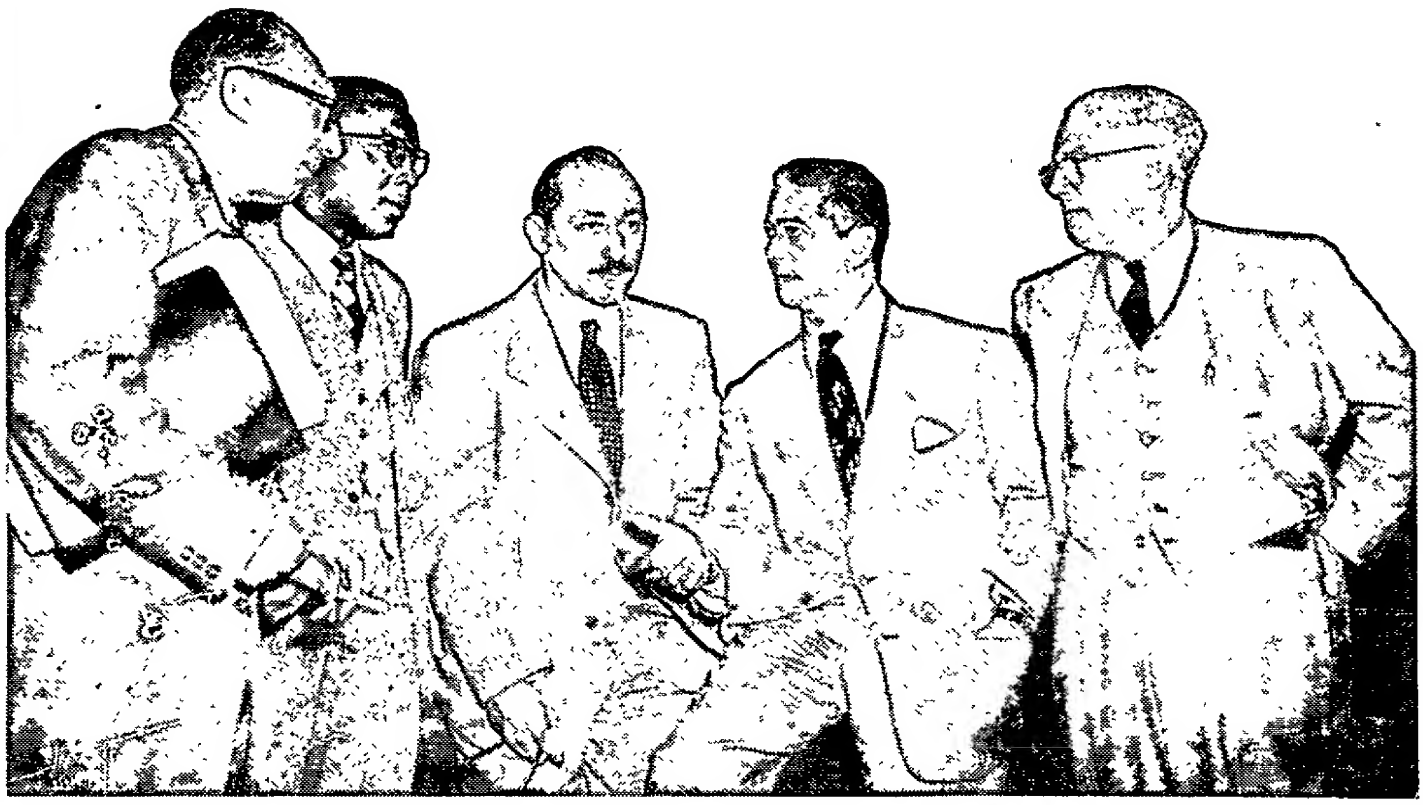

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DATE 02-04-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

LAWYERS UNDER FIRE

five cents

Published by

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

23 West 26th St., New York 10, N. Y.

in May, 1952

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

209

At exactly 10 o'clock in the morning of April 24, 1952, five men walked into the United States District Courtroom of Judge Clancy to begin serving jail sentences for contempt of court.

This is their story.

It is a story about lawyers—but not the ones who defend labor spies, stool pigeons, tax-dodgers and mink-coaters.

It is a story of the people's lawyers—a patriotic story whose principal characters regard our right to speak, to assemble with our neighbors, to think and write as we please, as sacred as the Constitution itself.

It is a story about

—Harry Sacher (of New York),
—Abraham J. Isserman (of New Jersey),
—Richard Gladstein (of California),
—George W. Crockett, Jr. (of Michigan), and
—Louis McCabe (of Pennsylvania).

Why is it important to US what happens to lawyers?

Chances are that you and I work for our living. We may be Catholic, Jewish or Protestant, or we may have our own belief. Negro or white, native-born or foreign-born—whatever we are, we have certain rights and privileges that are always being tested in the courts.

Are we trade unionists? Our union sends its lawyers to court to argue against the Taft-Hartley Act, injunctions, fines and the use of force against strikers.

Are we professionals—teachers or writers, maybe? Our lawyers

must fight witch hunts and blacklists, and uphold our right to think and act as we please.

Are we Negroes, or Jews, or members of a national minority group? Then we know that we need a lawyer to fight for equal rights and against discrimination.

Yes, everyone needs lawyers to help enforce the Constitution.

Maybe you and I know all this, but do we secretly believe that we're "safe" because the Smith and McCarran Acts, Ciceroism, McCarthyism or the Florida bombings haven't gotten to us *personally*? But actually, they already have. Living in a democracy *means* that when there is an attack against the civil liberties of any one group or any one person, the civil liberties of all the people are endangered. That's why the outcome of the court battles affects *all* the people and not only the individuals involved. That's why what happens to those individuals defines the area of freedom for everybody.

Because of this, whenever a lawyer is called in to protect the rights of those who speak out for peace and civil liberties, he is in effect called upon to protect *our* rights. In this way, the fate of lawyers becomes of major concern to *us*. To the extent that they are not permitted to function freely, *our* liberty and the liberty of all the people everywhere is undermined.

Why hire a lawyer?

Would we go into court ourselves if we are unjustly accused and merely deny the charge, tell our story to the judge and jury and stand on our Constitutional rights? Not if we could help it. We wouldn't choose to do that because our system of administering justice—our system of courts and juries—is much too complicated. Therefore, we need a lawyer.

When our lawyer goes to court to protect our interests, we expect him or her

—to make sure the right law is applied and that the judge explains it properly to the jury,

—to oppose legally any law or practice which threatens or actually deprives us of our rights,

—to see to it that all the necessary facts are brought out

and that the other side doesn't introduce any prejudicial evidence,

—in short, to tell the whole story, not less and not more.

A good lawyer is one who not only is competent to do all these things for us, but is courageous and determined to do them—who will stand up and fight for our right to speak and think as we please, for our right to strike and bargain collectively, and for our right to full citizenship. A good lawyer is a fearless lawyer.

The eleven Communist Party leaders indicted under the Smith Act in 1948 got themselves a battery of such fearless, able lawyers—all seasoned veterans of the trade union and civil rights struggles: Harry Sacher, Abraham J. Isserman, Richard Gladstein, George W. Crockett, Jr. and Louis McCabe.*

The scene is set.

For the first time in the United States, words, books and ideas were on trial. U.S. Supreme Court Justice Black framed the issue in the case this way, in his dissenting opinion:

> "These petitioners were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the Government. They were not charged with non-verbal acts of any kind designed to overthrow the Government. They were not even charged with saying anything or writing anything designed to overthrow the Government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date. The indictment is that they conspired to organize the Communist Party and to use speech or newspapers and other publications in the future to teach and advocate the forcible overthrow of the Government. No matter how it is worded, this is a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the First Amendment forbids."

Such a trial—a *political* trial—naturally involved basic Constitutional questions; it hit at the very heart of the Bill of Rights.

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* Eugene Dennis, one if the defendants, acted as his own lawyer.

The trial was heralded far in advance by such Truman-inspired activities as the Loyalty Order, tactics of guilt by association, the smearing of persons who were prominent in the Roosevelt administrations, and House Un-American Activities Committee "investigations" conducted in an effort to stifle progressive programs. It began in an atmosphere of hysteria which was further whipped up by press and radio and intensified by the presence of armed guards and policemen in the corridors and on the steps of the courthouse.

More Odds Against a Fair Trial

A basic ingredient of a just trial is a fair jury, selected impartially from among all the people. That was absent here. The system used to select jurors was so lopsided against the Negro people and working men and women that the defense lawyers had to begin their job by challenging the jury system. Before they had a chance to lay the legal groundwork for this jury challenge, however, Judge Harold R. Medina showed his hand. On the *second day* of testimony, the Judge accused the lawyers of using the challenge as a device to delay the trial. And a little while later, as they were presenting proof which showed overwhelmingly how biased the present method of jury selection is, the Judge stopped them abruptly and ordered that a jury be chosen from the list which was restricted and undemocratic.

Throughout the trial proper, this interference with the defendants' side of the case became more and more severe. When the defense lawyers made a legal objection, they were accused of trying to impair the Judge's health. When they tried to introduce a whole document into evidence after the government had introduced a few paragraphs out of context, the Judge said they were trying to delay the trial. When they attempted to expose the deals through which the FBI bought the false testimony of stool pigeons by promising not to prosecute them for crimes to which they had already confessed, they were cut off from further examining those witnesses. And so on.

Jail for Defending their Clients

The trial ended on October 14, 1949, with the "blue-ribbon" jury bringing in its verdict against freedom. Judge Medina then declared the defense lawyers in contempt of court and sentenced them to prison terms ranging from one to six months. He charged that their challenge to the jury system and the zeal with which they had defended their clients were part of a "conspiracy" to undermine the administration of justice.

In other words, Judge Medina said that the defense lawyers had gotten together secretly and assigned different roles to each of them; that at those secret meetings they schemed to drag out the trial, to cause the Judge to become sick, and generally to obstruct and delay the proceedings. In effect, Medina charged the lawyers with plotting (for example):

> —that they would challenge the stacked method of selecting juries *not* because it deprived their clients of their right to a fair trial, but because such a challenge would give the court system a bad name;
>
> —that they would show Ben Davis' record as a militant fighter for full and immediate equality for the Negro people *not* because such evidence destroyed the charges of un-Americanism against him, but merely as a way of delaying the trial;
>
> —that they would have defense witnesses explain the meaning of Marxism-Leninism *not* because the Judge had let the government's paid stool pigeons testify that it meant something different from what it said, but for the purpose of impairing the Judge's health.

That's what Judge Medina's "conspiracy" charge meant.

Even the Court of Appeals had to see how absurd this was. It pointed out that there was not a shred of evidence that the defense lawyers had gotten together and engaged secretly in such an absurd plot. Indeed, Medina himself didn't pretend that he had any *proof* that such a plot was ever hatched.

In another connection,* Federal Judge Hincks was called upon to examine this charge of "conspiracy." He concluded:

> "Careful analysis of all the reported incidents cited to this charge, as indeed of all petitioners' citations, fails to satisfy me. . . . I cannot find that the charge of conspiracy has been proved. . . . I am satisfied that the proofs now before me do not warrant a finding of conspiracy."

Hence the whole "conspiracy" charge was clearly an outrageous product of Medina's imagination, cooked up because there was no legal basis on which to criticize these lawyers' brilliant defense of their clients and the Constitution.

The frameup grows.

When he charged the defense lawyers with contempt, Judge Medina listed thirty-nine instances of conduct through which he claimed the "conspiracy" had been carried out. But the Judge said that if it had not been for the "conspiracy", the conduct of the lawyers *would not have deserved any punishment.*

As we have seen, the U.S. Court of Appeals threw out the "conspiracy" charge. How is it, then, that the defense lawyers still had to go to jail? The answer is that the government is out to "make an example" of these lawyers as a warning to other lawyers, to discourage future representation of defendants in political trials.

It was no coincidence that in the middle of the trial of the eleven Communist leaders, Tom Clark, while still U.S. Attorney General, published an article in *Look Magazine* in which he said that lawyers "who act like Communists and carry out Communist missions" by vigorously defending Communists or other progressives "should be scrutinized by grievance committees of the bar and the courts." Furthermore, when the defense lawyers appealed their contempt conviction, the Department of Justice demanded, through Prosecuting Attorney John F. X. McGohey, that the punishment ordered by Judge Medina be carried out to the letter.

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* See *The Disbarment Story,* on page 9.

(Incidentally, McGohey was rewarded by President Truman for his performance at the trial with a federal judgeship.)

It is not surprising that federal judges, whose appointment and promotions derive from the government, are subject to such pressures. Hence it becomes clear why it was possible for McGohey to get the Court of Appeals to uphold the contempt sentences even though it had to overrule the "conspiracy" charge. And it is also clear that these valiant lawyers are serving prison terms for the sole reason that they fearlessly carried out their duty to defend traditional American freedoms against the mounting tide of repression.

The Disbarment Story

While all this was going on, the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and the New York County Lawyers Association were also busy ganging up on the defense lawyers. Now you or I would normally expect an organization of lawyers to protect their colleagues when they're treated unfairly. But the lawyers who run these bar groups (and most other groups like them throughout the country) are retained by the top firms in finance and industry. Most lawyers representing Morgan, Mellon or Rockefeller (for example) wouldn't identify themselves with the people's lawyers. Far from protecting and defending them, they were eager to play a major role in their frameup.

Not content with the possibility of jail sentences, those bar group leaders wanted to destroy the defense lawyers completely, in the hope that this would prevent other lawyers from coming forward to represent people who are courageous enough to speak out in the interests of peace and freedom. The tactic the bar groups selected was to deprive the two local lawyers, Harry Sacher and Abraham J. Isserman, of their right to practice law in the Federal court—to deprive them of their right to work.

The lawyers involved and the general public first learned of the disbarment petition on April 12, 1950, just one week after the Court of Appeals decided the contempt case. But if we look a little closer at the time-table, the persecution and hounding of these lawyers become even clearer. Medina sentenced the lawyers for contempt on October 14, 1949. An appeal was filed

which came up for argument on February 6, 1950. The decision was handed down on April 5th. Yet the bar groups first got up their petition to disbar Sacher and Isserman on January 17th!

Of course, to keep up an appearance of fairness, the court in which the disbarment petition was filed delayed action on it until after the Court of Appeals, in deference to the Justice Department's mandate, upheld the contempt sentences. But the bar groups had refused to wait for the appeal to be processed; instead, they stood poised to strike a second telling blow—before the lawyers had time to defend themselves against the first attack. Truly, this was "the chronology of an ambush."*

The court in which the disbarment petition was filed proved no more concerned with the rights of Sacher and Isserman than did the two bar groups. Not waiting for the Supreme Court to decide the contempt case appeal, Federal Judge Hincks announced his decision on January 4, 1952: disbarment of Harry Sacher from practice in the Federal District Court for life, and of Abraham Isserman for two years.

Let us consider the injustice of this disbarment: Here we have two lawyers whose honorable records in over twenty-five years of practice before the bar have been unstained. They have tried scores of important cases involving many thousands of trade unionists and others, and never has any charge or attack been made against their professional reputations. Yet Judge Hincks, disregarding their long and distinguished careers, has pronounced them unfit.

Mr. Sacher's penalty was, of course, far more severe than Mr. Isserman's. Yet Judge Hincks, in the disbarment opinion, himself said even of Mr. Sacher:

> "I think I should make it plain that I find in the entire record no intimation that his conduct was tainted by venality or lack of fidelity to the interests of his clients, offenses which demonstrate a moral turpitude wholly absent there. His fault, rather, seems to have stemmed from a temperament which led to such excess of zeal in representing his clients that it obscured his recognition of responsibility as an officer of the court."

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* I. F. Stone, *Daily Compass*, May 18, 1950.

Surely the Judge was aware that the very conduct he denounced is all but expressly required by the Canons of Professional Ethics for the legal profession. Moreover, the Canons make it mandatory for lawyers to defend their clients' rights in utter disregard of "judicial disfavor or public unpopularity."

Despite the heavy penalty he imposed, Judge Hincks admitted that "moral turpitude (was) wholly absent" in Mr. Sacher. And the law as handed down by a superior court is that where there is no moral turpitude there must not be disbarment.

The Infamy of State Court Disbarments

A lawyer's license to practice law is issued by the court of the state in which he lives. Then, if he chooses, he may seek admission to practice in a federal court by complying with its requirements. If he should be disbarred in the federal court, that would not automatically affect his status elsewhere. (However, disbarment in the federal court is often used as a basis for disbarment in the state.) But disbarment in the state means automatic disbarment everywhere.

Shortly after Judge Medina sentenced the lawyers, the New Jersey State Bar Association set about trying to put an end to the legal career of Abraham Isserman. First he was called before the Ethics Committee, where he pointed out that the contempt case was still up on appeal. Then the Bar Association got the New Jersey court to suspend him from practice there. Following the decision of the Supreme Court upholding the contempt conviction—and using his conduct at the trial of the Communist leaders as its sole basis—the Bar Association moved to disbar him. Despite his many requests at all proper stages throughout the proceedings, Mr. Isserman was denied any opportunity to be heard in his own defense. Unlawfully silenced, he was disbarred on March 24, 1952.

Steps have also been taken by the State Bar of Michigan against George Crockett. In this instance, we are faced not "merely" with the prospect of further trampling on a lawyer's Constitutional rights and denying him his right to work; here,

the frameup threatens to deprive the people of one of the country's most able Negro attorneys. With jimcrow schools, universities, bar associations and employment practices, and all the other jimcrow aspects of our life at this time, it takes much more than the average qualifications and perseverance for a Negro to become a lawyer. And Mr. Crockett succeeded in doing much more than just that. His ability and devotion to justice have won for him the esteem of many of his colleagues at the bar, both Negro and white, as well as the respect and warm friendship of trade unionists and the people generally.

As a measure of the intense interest surrounding Mr. Crockett's case, the Wolverine Bar Association, which is an organization of Negro lawyers in Detroit, together with the Detroit Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, carefully analyzed the entire record of the nine-months trial. They concluded that Mr. Crockett was innocent of any contempt. In the course of the analysis, the full significance of the special treatment Judge Medina accorded Mr. Crockett, the only Negro attorney in the case, became obvious. This treatment ran along these lines: *"that is the most ridiculous thing I have heard, Mr. Crockett . . . there is just no sense in that at all,"*—or *"Well, that sounds crazy. You always seem to do that,"* —or *"Oh, my, Mr. Crockett. You have something to add,"*—or *"you seem so consistently to misunderstand me,"*—or *"I wonder if it is possible for me to impress upon you. . . . Now, I beg of you to try to absorb that thought."*

After the Michigan action was started, the church of which Mr. Crockett is a member, with 1,200 of the congregation present, unanimously resolved to call upon the State Bar of Michigan to drop the proceedings. A similar move was made by the local Baptist ministerial association, representing 300 churches and hundreds of thousands of members.

The Shameful Tally

The shameful tally now is: for Harry Sacher, Federal District Court disbarment for life; for Abraham Isserman, complete disbarment.* Up to now, only New Jersey has disbarred its local

* Both appeals are now pending.

lawyer, but proceedings have been started in Michigan against George Crockett, and the threat of disbarment in their states hangs heavy over the heads of the other courageous lawyers, too.

What disbarment means to the lawyers is obvious; these men have spent their entire lives in the practice of law and disbarment would take away from them the means of earning their living. But such a measure would also be disastrous to *our* rights, for these lawyers have waged their court battles on the side of the people. They are *our* lawyers, and disbarment would deprive *us* of our right to lawyers of our choice.

Three Supreme Court Justices refuse to join in the frameup.

The highest court in the land agreed to review the contempt convictions, but only on a narrow question of law involving whether or not the lawyers were entitled to a trial before another judge. On March 10, 1952, by a five-to-three vote,* the Supreme Court capitulated completely to this part of the government's blueprint for repression and upheld the contempt sentences.

Justices Black, Douglas and Frankfurter differed strongly with the majority of the court. Following in the libertarian tradition of such "great dissenters" as Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis D. Brandeis (many of whose dissents were in a few years to become law), they agreed that the majority decision constituted a miscarriage of justice and a denial of fundamental Constitutional rights.

Mr. Justice Douglas said:

"I agree with Mr. Justice Frankfurter that one who reads this record will have difficulty in determining whether members of the bar conspired to drive a judge from the bench or whether the judge used the authority of the bench to whipsaw the lawyers, to taunt and

* Justice Tom Clark did not participate.

tempt them, and to create for himself the role of the persecuted. . . . I therefore agree with Mr. Justice Black and Mr. Justice Frankfurter that this is the classic case where the trial for contempt should be held before another judge. I also agree with Mr. Justice Black that petitioners were entitled by the Constitution to a trial by jury."

Mr. Justice Frankfurter said:

"The judge acted as the prosecuting witness; he thought of himself as such. His self-concern pervades the record; it could not humanly have been excluded from his judgment of contempt. . . .

"Too often counsel were encouraged to vie with the court in dialectic, in repartee and banter, in talk so copious as inevitably to arrest the momentum of the trial and to weaken the restraints of respect that a judge should engender in lawyers. . . . Throughout the proceedings . . . [the judge] failed to exercise the moral authority of a court possessed of a great tradition."

Mr. Justice Black said:

Various episodes quoted from the record of the trial by Mr. Justice Frankfurter "bespeak an attitude of distruct of the lawyers and, I regret to add, of hostility to them, generally deemed inconsistent with the complete impartiality the process of judging demands. . .

"The judge's distrust of and disrespect for the lawyers clearly appears from his frequent charges that their statements were false and unreliable. These repeated accusations . . . impress me as showing such bitter hostility to the lawyers that the accuser should be held disqualified to try them. [Here follows a quotation from the record in which Judge Medina calls Mr. Sacher a liar.]

"Liar ordinarily is a fighting word spoken in anger to express bitter personal hostility against another. I can think of no other reason for its use here, particularly since the Judge's charge was baseless. . . . [After the lawyers were sentenced] Sacher asked and was granted the privilege of making a brief statement. This statement was relevant and dignified. Nevertheless the Judge interrupted him and used this language to a lawyer he had just abruptly and summarily sentenced to prison: 'You continue in the same *brazen* manner that you used throughout the whole trial . . . despite all kinds of warnings, throughout the case, you continue with the same old *mealy-mouth* way of putting it which I have been listening to throughout this case.' [Emphasis by Justice Black.] Candor compels me to say that in this episode the decorum and dignity of the lawyer who had just been sent to prison loses nothing by comparison with others. . . .

"Before sentence and conviction these petitioners were accorded no chance at all to defend themselves. They were not even afforded an opportunity to challenge the sufficiency or the accuracy of the charges. Their sentences were read to them but the full charges were not. I cannot reconcile this summary blasting of legal careers with a fair system of justice. Such a procedure constitutes an overhanging menace to the security of every courtroom advocate in America."

It is, of course, of utmost concern to all of us that the Constitutional requirements of a full and fair trial by jury be complied with. In this respect, the defense lawyers have been deprived of an essential right.

But in fighting to uphold procedural guarantees under the Constitution, we must not lose sight of the *facts* of the case. When all the facts are considered, the inevitable conclusion is that the only "offenses" these lawyers have committed are strict adherence to the highest standards of their profession and unswerving devotion to the Bill of Rights. Indeed, when all the facts are considered, they establish the simple truth that these

lawyers are innocent. *Their innocence must be proclaimed by all the people!*

History teaches a lesson.

There have been times in our country's history when liberty was all but crushed and the Constitution seemed a lifeless instrument. Our country survived those periods because there were always fearless people who cried out for freedom and against tyranny. These people naturally became the prime target of those who would benefit if democracy were turned into fascism.

But just as there were always people who spoke out courageously, there were always valiant lawyers who, when the need arose, came forward to defend them. In an effort to stifle this defense, the tyrants trained their blows against the people's lawyers. The pattern of repression was uniform, but within it, there have been various avenues of attack. For example, in earlier times:

> —Newspaper publisher Peter Zenger was prosecuted in 1735 for writing a criticism of Britain's King-appointed governor of New York. His lawyers, William Smith and James Alexander, challenged the terms of the judge's appointment which had also been made by the King and could have been revoked at will by the King. For this, the judge disbarred them.
>
> —Lord Erskine, the great English trial lawyer, was punished for contempt and lost the office of attorney general to the Prince of Wales for daring to defend Tom Paine, the heroic American Revolutionary and author of "The Rights of Man."

History teaches that a principal weapon of tyrants is the impairment of fair defense procedures, and Tom Clark put this lesson to work when he was Attorney General—before President Truman elevated him to the Supreme Court. In 1947 he called publicly for punishment of "left-wing" lawyers, and urged that they be "taken to the legal woodshed." That policy has been diabolically carried out to revive the pattern of repression against the people's defenders. It started with Judge Medina's contempt

charge and sentences, and has been applied and reapplied throughout the country.

—The big shipping interests, with the cooperation of the government, tried three times to deport union president Harry Bridges, hoping thereby to weaken his militant organization. But that didn't work. Then another action was commenced and the false testimony of stool pigeons and racketeers was bought for the purpose of framing him. When labor lawyer Vincent Hallinan tried to tell the jury that the deportation cases had been decided in Bridges' favor, he was declared in contempt and sentenced to six months in jail.

—The qualifications of Senator T. C. Hennings of Missouri to sit on a Senate sub-committee were challenged by Senator Joseph McCarthy because Henning's law partner, John Raeburn Green, had appeared in the U.S. Supreme Court as counsel for John Gates, one of the Communist leaders convicted under the Smith Act.

—Hyman Schlesinger came to court one day to try an accident case. Judge Musmanno, admirer of Mussolini, immediately disbarred him because he refused to answer a series of trick questions about his political beliefs which of course had nothing to do with the case. The upper court overruled Musmanno. Then Schlesinger was arrested under a Pennsylvania sedition law, but the authorities were forced to drop the charge on a technicality.

—Maurice Braverman has been an active civil rights lawyer who has represented the Communist Party. In August 1951, when the leaders of the Maryland Communist Party were arrested, he came to act as counsel for them, only to be indicted together with his clients on the same charge—under the Smith Act. Thus to guilt-by-association has been added the technique of guilt-by-representation.

—In January 1952, the House Un-American Activities Committee began a witch-hunt-smear of labor and civil rights lawyers practicing in Los Angeles. The Committee's aim was a blacklist which would help smash the lawyers' effective activity on behalf of progressive causes.

What other blows will be dealt to these brave defenders of freedom before the people act to stop the attack!

The Negro Victim

Lynch-law rarely affords the time or opportunity for Negroes falsely accused of crimes to find lawyers courageous enough to speak out against jimcrow court procedures, prosecutors, judges and juries and to fight for a fair trial. And when such lawyers *are* obtained and succeed in exposing the rotten core of jimcrow "justice", the courts often find ways to force them off the case. The problem of getting militant counsel has always been acute for Negroes, especially in the South. But today, when it has become difficult for other minority groups, as well, to have the full benefit of counsel of their choice, the Negro defendant, as the Negro everywhere in a jimcrow society, suffers most severely. For example:

—By laying bare New Jersey officials' conspiracy to railroad the now-famous Trenton Six on a murder charge, Civil Rights Congress lawyers got the higher court to reverse the conviction and order a new trial. But the trial court barred them from further representing their clients, giving as its reasons that they had referred to the trumped-up charges in public as a "travesty on justice" and because they had not expressly disassociated themselves from the mass campaign waged by the Civil Rights Congress to educate and mobilize the people around the struggle to free these innocent Negro men.

—When the frameup of Willie McGee on a Mississippi rape charge came to the attention of the Civil Rights Congress and local counsel was needed, it retained a young white lawyer, John Poole, in his defense. First, Mr. Poole received telephone threats. Then he was assaulted—once at the courthouse and again at the airport when he was en route to Washington, D.C., to fight for Willie McGee's life. When these methods failed to force his resignation from the case, a group of prosecuting attorneys who had been or still were involved in the case filed a petition to disbar

him, on the grounds (1) that he had helped prepare papers charging that the complaining party had testified falsely with the knowledge of state officials and (2) that he had been originally retained by the Civil Rights Congress.

—In Groveland Park, Florida, there was an attempt to cut off a struggle of Negro labor for higher wages and better working conditions by accusing three Negroes of rape. (One of the defendants had to be released because of his extreme youth.) The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent its general counsel, Thurgood Marshall, to assist in the defense. The case reached the Supreme Court, where the conviction was thrown out and a new trial ordered. When it was about to begin, the trial court at that time barred Mr. Marshall from further participating. No excuse was given; the court merely said, in effect, "We don't want any NAACP lawyer here."

—Harry Sacher was counsel to Ben Davis, one of the Communist leaders serving a jail term under the Smith Act, and it was his job also to protect his client's rights while in prison. Currently in Terre Haute Federal Penitentiary, Mr. Davis protested through his lawyer about its jimcrow practices. When there was no improvement, Mr. Davis asked Mr. Sacher to institute a suit on the discriminatory situation. Naturally, such a suit would die-aborning with the order disbarring Mr. Sacher. Hence, one of the objectives of the disbarment was notice to white lawyers not to fight vigorously for the Negro if they would like to remain safe.

What has happened to the Sixth Amendment?

Today, we are living through what is probably the most virulent period of repression in our country's history. As a result of the present drive toward a police state, political defendants have been denied the rights guaranteed them by the Sixth Amendment —the rights to a full and fair trial with counsel of their choice. Their inability to find such counsel was a direct outgrowth of the intimidation of the bar, of witch hunts and guilt by associa-

tion, and of labeling as "subversive" any defense of the Constitution.

—The Seventeen Communist Party leaders arrested in New York in the so-called "second-string" Smith Act cases were unable to get trial counsel for several months. Other Smith Act victims throughout the country had the same experience.

—Steve Nelson, Pittsburgh Communist leader, was framed under a Pennsylvania sedition law. After a fruitless search, which included a personal appeal to some 700 lawyers in Pennsylvania, he finally had to try his own case.

U.S. Court of Appeals Judge Charles Clark saw this coming. Indeed, he gave as one of his reasons for disagreeing with the majority of his Court and voting to throw out Judge Medina's entire contempt conviction of the lawyers who represented the eleven Communist leaders, that a conviction would inevitably make it extremely difficult in the future for such groups to get counsel.

We have seen that in the past, courageous lawyers always came forward in defense of the people. Why, then, don't enough lawyers come forward now? First of all, the measures being taken now to suppress the people's rights are bolder and stronger than in the past and there are more people to defend. But not enough lawyers have come forward also because we, the people, haven't yet spoken out—haven't yet supported and encouraged them—haven't yet given them our mandate to fight. Trade unionists, the foreign born and fighters for Negro rights must come to the defense of these lawyers, not only because of their many years of struggle to protect our Constitutional rights in the past but because of our own self interest in the present. The fight to repeal the Smith, Taft-Hartley and McCarran Acts and to assure first-class citizenship for the Negro people will be fought better and won sooner with the aid of lawyers who have always been part of the trade union and civil rights struggles.

The People Speak

Throughout the land voices have begun to be raised in protest against this abominable persecution and intimidation of lawyers.

—When the defense lawyers appealed the contempt conviction, 650 courageous lawyers throughout the country lent their names to a supporting brief. This was a milestone in legal history, for never before had so many lawyers put themselves on record in a case involving fundamental Constitutional liberties.

—Albert Einstein, Bishop Cameron C. Alleyne, Rabbi Alvin I. Fine, Judge Norval K. Harris, Thomas Mann and Earl Dickerson said, among others, in a statement published in *The Nation* on February 11, 1950:

> "These individual cases appear to be part of an emerging national pattern; a pattern of political repression already clearly defined in the case of the teacher, the government employee, the writer, the scientist, the trade unionist, the Negro; a pattern of political repression which can destroy the lawyer's traditional freedom of advocacy and at the same time silence millions who need the lawyer to speak for them; a pattern which is the product of the public policy of certain Congressional Committees and individuals in our Government."

—The *St. Louis American,* prominent Negro newspaper, said, on August 20, 1951:

> "Today (despite keyed news stories to the contrary) any American lawyer, every American lawyer is under this nationwide bludgeon, this powerful dare against representing a red or a fifth cousin of a red. . . .
> *"The next step will be to dare and cow all lawyers who would prosecute to its end American jimcrow, who would defend Americans from segregation insults and from white supremacist injustice."*

—Professor Royal Wilbur France of Rollins College, Florida, wrote to Harry Sacher:

> "It was with deep regret that I read of your disbarment in the U.S. Southern District of New York. Although I abandoned the active practice of law a

number of years ago . . . the trend in American life represented by your disbarment is leading me to consider an early return to the active practice of law. More and more, I fear, younger members of the bar will be intimidated by contempt and disbarment proceedings against lawyers. . . ."

—United States Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas said, in "The Black Silence of Fear," a *New York Times Magazine* article, on January 13, 1952:

"Fear even strikes at lawyers and the bar. Those accused of illegal Communist activity—all presumed innocent, of course, until found guilty—have difficulty getting reputable lawyers to defend them. Lawyers have talked with me about it. Many are worried. Some could not volunteer their services, for if they did they would lose their clients and their firms would suffer. Others could not volunteer because if they did they would be dubbed 'subversive' by their community and put in the same category as those they would defend. This is a dark tragedy."

It's up to US

If lawyers are free to defend us, we will have a better chance of getting a fair trial. If lawyers are hounded, imprisoned or disbarred, we will *not* get a fair trial—we will *not* be able to organize freely to protect our civil liberties or our wages or our children's right to a peaceful world.

Past periods of repression brought with them court decisions designed to stifle the people's programs for peace, freedom and security. But the people spoke out, and their strength helped stem the tide of reaction; their determination prevented the use of those repressive court decisions against the people.

Once again it is up to us to raise our voices on behalf of liberty. As an integral part of our over-all program, we are called upon to help protect the rights of our lawyers to exercise their function freely as lawyers, without fear of frameup contempt charges and

jail sentences—and, even more important, without fear of disbarment.

We need Sacher, Isserman, Gladstein, Crockett and McCabe—and other valiant lawyers like them—to help in the trade union and civil rights struggles to come. And so we must speak out against being deprived of our lawyers. We must work to free them. We must help overturn the Federal and the New Jersey disbarment orders and make it possible for Sacher and Isserman to go on representing the people in their court struggles to give full meaning to the Bill of Rights. We must help prevent further attempts to disbar the lawyers.

What WE can do

If we belong to an organization—a union, a church or temple, a fraternal or social organization—we can help this way:

(1) Pass a resolution demanding that the lawyers be freed and condemning the disbarment decisions. Copies of such resolutions should be sent to the press, to the state bar associations, and to the organization's parent body. We should do the same thing commending the dissenting opinions of Justices Black, Douglas and Frankfurter in the contempt case.

(2) Let the organization's lawyer know we are opposed to the contempt sentences and disbarment.

We can help by writing letters, either through our organization or individually:

(1) to President Truman, urging that he free the lawyers and call a halt to the current drive to impair the people's right to lawyers of their choice.

(2) to the editors of our local papers, condemning the federal and state disbarments, the threat of future state disbarments and the majority decision of the Supreme Court in the contempt case.

(3) to Justice Black, Douglas and Frankfurter, commending their defense of Constitutional rights.

Any of us who has a personal lawyer can help by telling him how we feel. And if we haven't had occasion to hire a lawyer, we may know some; they will be interested to know that we will fight to uphold their right to practice law freely.

If we help stem the repressive actions against these lawyers and that fight is won, the Sixth Amendment will in large measure be restored to the people.

Fight for the Right to a Lawyer!

(TEAR OFF AND MAIL)

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

☐ I am joining the fight to free the five lawyers and to keep the people's lawyers free.

☐ I am enclosing $.....as my contribution to the fight for enforcement of the 6th Amendment.

☐ I would like to order ..... copies of this pamphlet at 5c per copy, for which I enclose $.....

☐ I want to join the Civil Rights Congress, the organization at the forefront of the struggle to defend our Constitutional liberties and human rights. Here is $1 for my 1952 membership.

(*name*) .....

(*address*) .....

.....

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We Demand Freedom!

Two Addresses by

William L. Patterson

National Executive Secretary
Civil Rights Congress

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, National Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, is well known to millions of Negro and white Americans for his militant leadership in the fight to save constitutional liberties for all Americans and to win full civil and human rights for the people—for the Negro people, in particular.

As the National Secretary of the International Labor Defense in the 1930's, Patterson led the world-wide campaign which saved and eventually freed the nine innocent Scottsboro Negro lads.

More recently, he helped save the innocent Trenton Six from the terrible death their official framers had prepared for them. The Civil Rights Congress won them a second trial which saw four of these innocent young Negro men freed. Patterson also led the historic people's movement for the Martinsville Seven in Virginia, and headed the glorious defense of Willie McGee in Mississippi—eight Negroes, innocent of rape, whose lives were taken on a charge for which no white man in either state had ever been given the death penalty.

After a Negro-white jury in April, 1951, refused to convict him on a so-called contempt of Congress charge, a second trial of Mr. Patterson was ordered by the Justice Department and set for June 18, but the intervention of 17 Bishops of the AME Zion Church compelled the government to grant an extension of time until January, 1952. The "contempt" charge grew out of a House Lobbying Committee meeting at which Georgia Congressman Henderson Lovelace Lanham called Patterson "a black s.o.b.," when the Negro leader charged Georgia had a lynch government.

The first is from an address delivered at the 60th Birthday Rally for Mr. Patterson in August, 1951. Over 2,000 people gathered to pay him tribute for his life of struggle for peace and freedom. The second was delivered at a dinner in May, 1951, at which over 700 Negro and white citizens, among them trade-union leaders, ministers and prominent figures in the arts and professions, honored him for his twenty-five years of activity in the civil rights field.

We Must Unite for Victory!

IT IS very, very good to be here, even though it has taken me sixty years. I can recount vividly many of the historical events which in that period have changed both the face and the body of the world.

I was born in the City of San Francisco just before the turn of the century which has seen the fall of Czarism and Hitlerism and the creation through blood and travail of a number of people's republics, with governments of the people, by the people, and for the people.

In the year 1891 nothing foretold with prophetic certainty that these people's democracies would be the dominant characteristic of government this century. Yet they do dominate the world scene.

When I was born, despite the already wide-spread nature of racist propaganda and attitudes, this country led the world in its institutions of democracy. The American people had exhibited a passionate love of freedom and a will to fight for it that none could deny. That is why I am so hopeful of the not-so-far-distant future.

REACTION'S MORAL DECAY

I have lived during the period when those Southern bourbons, the former slave landlord, and the Northern industrialists who returned them to political power in the South, have led this country, which I have learned to love so passionately, into the swamp of moral decay. They are turning it into a land stalked by klan and mob terror, political and Capone-like gangsterism, national hysteria artificially incited and imperialist aggrandizement motivated by a lust for profit and power.

How have they accomplished these evil ends? In various

ways. Have the people been entirely guiltless? No. They have become passive and inert in the face of a mirage of eternal security.

To create this situation, the evil men had first to ruthlessly smash the monumental democracy of the reconstruction era, so painfully and laboriously carved out of the ruins of the Civil War by the freed men and women and their poor white allies—hill billies, so called. How did they do that? By pitting white men against black. These black and tan governments that were destroyed by the klan and the white camillias—terrorist gangs of the landlords—were the only governments of the people, by the people, and for the people, this country has ever known. The then unconscious acceptance by millions of whites of the racist theories demanded by the monied men and propagated by their prostituted historians laid the basis for those crimes against the people.

The first war of aggression and conquest by the men whom Franklin D. Roosevelt was later to label "economic royalists" was fought while I was a child. It was heralded as a war of liberation. But it was promoted by the sons of those men who destroyed Reconstruction here at home. Their lust for power and profit was already being harnessed to a war chariot.

I never learned until later why the Filipinos fought so desperately and heroically against the very forces that some Americans shouted had freed them from the bloody clutches of Spain's pre-Franco butchers. But I saw that to subdue the patriots of the Philippines, American soldiers were inspired to use the water cure and castor oil, to burn and pillage indiscriminately.

When the first World War was fought—the second imperialist war for the rulers of America—I was old enough to go. But instead I went to jail for a short time because I indiscreetly called it a "white man's war" and said that Negroes should have no part of, or in it. I was wrong in one vitally important point. That was not a white man's war. There has never been a white man's war or a white man's peace—and there never will be.

Some few white men were to profit mightily, but millions of white men and women were to suffer grievously. It was not a war to free exploited and oppressed peoples. Millions of men and women in Africa and the colonial lands got new masters. Wall Street became a world force. It was another war

of conquest. It was during the interlude called peace that followed that I learned much more about life and the forces that mold it and seek to direct its course against the people's interest.

RACISM FOR EXPORT

Millions of my own people, pouring out of the South, fleeing cotton plantation-exploitation and the landlord's rope and faggot, were caught in the ghettos where Northern real estate wolves literally devoured them. They found from their experiences that democracy had not only been betrayed by the smashing of the Reconstruction, but that, as well, the virus of white supremacy had been loosed, as poison gas is. That poison had been spread by church, schools, press and theatre and was consciously being carried North, East and West. Racism had become an interstate export commodity, later to be shipped abroad.

Unemployment, disease, malnutrition and vice were superimposed upon the ghetto by the real estate boards so greatly responsible for their being. These men began to take their toll even then. The American ruling class system of pogroms—the counter-part of Czarist Russia's murder of the Jewish people—was already beginning to take shape. The murderous East St. Louis drive against Negroes and their massacre at Elaine, Arkansas, were incited in order to quell the freedom demands of these Americans. Landlord and industrialist, both, were guilty.

I saw the first moves toward the wide-spread unionization of labor. These feeble efforts were later to gain momentum with the rise of the CIO and through the intense work of a man named William Z. Foster. I did not then realize its great significance for my people. But I saw the rage of business against this progress of labor mount in proportion to its growing size and its increasing hold upon government. That heroic working class figure, Tom Mooney, loomed up in the city of my birth. He was framed and imprisoned by Big Business. I failed then to recognize his splendid proportions or the relation of the struggle for his life to mine. I was chained to a narrow concept of white men as the eternal enemies of black at that moment. The rulers of America had created this hoax.

I saw the rise and fall of the IWW (International Workers

of the World) and understood little of what was going on. Thus I missed meeting Elizabeth Gurley Flynn,* a great leader even then. Now I can see how in those early days her fiery words might have opened my blinded eyes.

I finished school and fled America. In England I met George Lansbury, the renowned Labor Party leader, and other public figures. I found out that the fight for my own freedom and the democracy I sought could best be fought for at home. I returned from Europe to become involved in the most tragic phase of the lives of two innocent Italian-American workers entrapped by those Americans who already were plotting the death of our constitutional liberties. I helped in the attempt to save the lives of the innocent Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Their names are etched upon my mind. The impact of their death awakened me to a clearer understanding of the challenge of life. I was also now to learn that that challenge could only be successfully met by those standing firmly in the ranks of the people and labor. My meeting there in Boston with the immortal Mother Reeves Bloor, whom we so recently laid to rest, inspired that development. I was on the road to my rebirth. This time a white woman was to be my mother.

THE TWO AMERICAS

In that fight for the lives of two Italian-Americans, I learned that there were *Two Americas*—one of wealth acquired through exploitation and the power of a corrupted government; the other seeking security, yet not knowing that security lies in a people's government.

I had experienced the miracle of life—the awakening of social consciousness. The shock of rebirth wrought other changes. It brought an inkling of my colossal ignorance. I had been miseducated. Now I know that such miseducation is not an accidental affair. My training was the training of those whom the economic royalists hope will be the misleaders of the people. Above all else it is imperative that a person learn the demands of society in the period in which he lives. These needs are, today, peace and freedom.

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* Miss Flynn, veteran American civil liberties fighter and now National Committee member of the U.S. Communist Party, is facing trial on a Smith Act indictment, charged solely with "teaching and advocating" ideas.

Then I was drawn into a great school. It was known internationally as "The Scottsboro Case." Together with many of you who are here tonight, and my dear friend Ben Davis* who perforce is absent, the Scottsboro battle was fought through to a glorious victory. I learned then the meaning of the term "international solidarity." Progressive Americans could not have saved those black lads from the electric chair but for the aid of French, British, German, Russian and Latin American workers.

Again my path crossed the fight for the life of Tom Mooney. Now I was prepared to play some small part in that successful struggle. I remember taking the venerable and patient 75-year-old mother of Tom to see Franklin D. Roosevelt, then President-elect, and demanding that he intercede in behalf of her innocent son. He did.

It was during those early days that I met a young Negro law student who is one of the greatest living Americans, and a friendship developed with Paul Robeson which has greatly enriched my life.

WHAT I HAVE LEARNED

I have reviewed this period since 1926 several times as I pondered what I would say here tonight and each time I have had to admit that I would follow the same road if I had to live it over again. The lessons have been of inestimable value to me. I have learned, for example, that there is a vast difference between love of country and blind loyalty to those who rule it. I have learned my relation to the people of whom I am a part. True love of country demands struggle for the heritage of the people—freedom.

A study of Thomas Jefferson's fight against the Alien and Sedition Laws, the fight against the Fugitive Slave Law and the fight of our forefathers against England's George III, has taught me this. The consciousness I had acquired taught me to read aright this history which is so distorted by the respected historians.

I have learned that no rights are guaranteed except to those in power. No constitutional liberties are fully enjoyed by a

* Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., former N. Y. City Councilman, and son of the famous Georgia Republican leader, is a Negro Communist, National Committee member, now in jail, solely for "teaching and advocating" ideas.

people except where those from whom these liberties have been wrested no longer control the government.

Constitutional rights will be enjoyed by all, regardless of color, creed or nationality when and where there exists a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Until such time the people will know only such rights as their unity in daily struggle can win for them. That is why Abraham Lincoln urged us to secure for ourselves here in America a government of the people, by the people and for the people.

The measure of the people's unity determines the extent of their rights. Nor will rights won today be secure for tomorrow, except where the pressure of the people's will is sustained. Where the people do not have the government, the Constitution will be enforced in the interests of those who do. They may be Economic Royalists, Dixiecrats, lynchers of democracy and of people.

Once I thought these truths concerned only black men. I have learned out of my experience—sometimes bitter, sometimes sweet, but always profitable—that they apply to men and women regardless of their color, their creed or nationality.

Now I know that force and violence as a policy of government for the purpose of destroying constitutional liberties and human rights is doomed to failure. Labor will no longer submit. The Negro people no longer can endure this dehumanizing process. Progressive people fear the wars inherent in it. The knowledge that all of these have the same enemy is trmendously revealing.

SMITH ACT—AMERICA'S CRISIS

We face what must become the greatest American crisis in the fight to defend our constitutional liberties and human rights.

Six men amended the Constitution when the Supreme Court upheld the conviction of the 11 Communist Party leaders under the provisions of the Smith Act. We had believed that only the people could alter or abolish that document. But these six men wiped from the Bill of Rights the First Amendment, which we thought guaranteed to all Americans their freedom of speech, press and religion.

Men have been forced to be witnesses against themselves —the crime is called "guilt by association"—or they are found

to be in contempt of court and arbitrarily sent to jail. Thus the Fifth Amendment is being destroyed. Excessive bail is fixed as men and women are charged with harboring guilty thoughts.

The monies of the Bail Fund of the Civil Rights Congress are declared tainted and unacceptable. And those who are denied the resources of a people's bail fund are also denied the right to have as bailors members of organizations the Attorney General—acting for the President—has arbitrarily declared to be un-American and subversive. The trustees of the fund are imprisoned because their honor would not permit them to disclose the names of its supporters.

Every organization directed by those who fight for the interest of the people, every people's organization is placed in the un-American category. Peace organizations have become un-American, and that magnificent figure of a man, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, is declared to be the agent of a foreign government because of his fight to block the road of American economic royalists to an atomic war.

Labor's legal safeguards have been smashed. The Taft-Hartley Law has opened wide the road to the legal destruction of all that is vital and protective of labor's interests in trade unionism. Loyalty oaths are demanded of government employees, with emphasis upon the elimination of Negroes and Jews who refuse to accept jimcrow and segregation as a policy of government, or anti-Semitism as a way of life.

Legal lynchings are staged regularly. The framed victims go to electric chairs, doomed by the state courts whose murderous decisions are endorsed by the United States Supreme Court on the basis of states' rights. States' rights has become the bastion of the lynch-mad racists, and before this distorted theory the inalienable rights of the Negro American have disappeared. The murdered Martinsville Seven and the heroic Willie McGee call upon us from the grave to awaken to save our America.

This is a bird's-eye view of the American scene. The drive of reaction proceeds under the slogans of "contain the Communists" and "Keep the Negro in his place." When reaction speaks of constitutional liberty, democracy and human rights, one has to ask "For whom? It is not here for exploited minorities." Thus speaks the voice of reality.

THE GREAT DECEPTION

In a formal sense, constitutional and human rights embrace us all. But therein lies the deception. The substance has even taken from the Constitution. Only the hollow words remain. The lists of those slated for arrest, who speak the language of the people and voice their demands, run into the thousands. The President speak about safe-guarding constitutional liberties but his Department of Justice has itself loosed the terror.

There are men and women who believed that these illegal raids would affect only the Communists. They have been duped by the wild hysteria that has been artificially inspired. They are as gullible as those who believed that racism would only affect the Negro people—those who blithely ignored the repeated violation of the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution, not being able to understand that democracy is indivisible.

The lessons of Hitler's Germany are lost upon such people. Our every effort must be to awaken them, for their sleep imperils our very lives.

We are not confronted here with the matter of an attitude toward a political philosophy. The issue is what to do to defend the constitutional guarantees and human rights of the American people. Upon our answer rests not alone the fate of our country. Upon our understanding, our willingness to fight to save our heritage of democracy, rests the fate of the world.

Mr. Justice Black, as he dissented from the opinion of Chief Justice Vinson in the decision upholding the thought-control Smith Act in the case of the Communist leaders, said:

"These petitioners were not charged with an attempt to overthrow the government. They were not charged with nonverbal acts of any kind, designed to overthrow the government. The charge was that they agreed to assemble and to talk and publish certain ideas at a later date. . . ."

To agree . . . to assemble . . . and to talk and publish certain ideas. For this, these Americans are being punished! This is a crime in the U.S.A. under the Smith Act. Not for the Ku Klux Klan, nor the Dixiecrats, nor Senator McCarthy, but for you!

THE SMITH ACT MUST GO!

The continued existence of the Smith Act as an organic part of the law of the land spells the death knell of the democratic principles for which we have fought and bled. It must go in the name of democracy. The Smith Act is not only a fetter upon democratic thought and expression. It is destructive of both. It is the door to the realm of Thought Control. This is a matter that concerns the non-Communist, anti-Communist, Communist, the Republican, the Democrat and the Socialist. It concerns black as well as white, and men and women irrespective of their religious beliefs or their national origin. It concerns us all. Its repeal is possible if we have courage.

I must express some alarm at the last note in Justice Hugo Black's dissent.

"Public opinion," he said, *"being what it is, few will protest the conviction of these Communist petitioners. There is hope, however, that in calmer times when present pressures, passions and fears subside, this or some later court will restore the First Amendment liberties to the high preferred place where they belong in a free society."*

Mr. Justice Black is wrong. Victories have already been won and greater victories will be won.

In the middle west in the fight to maintain inviolate the right of bail, we have won partial victories. In the city of Philadelphia, the right to bail by the Bail Fund of the Civil Rights Congress was won in the case of Steve Nelson a short time ago. In the City of Richmond, Virginia, where the Martinsville Seven were murdered, we recently secured the release of five Negroes falsely charged with the crime of rape.

The presence on the streets of Trenton, New Jersey, of four of the Trenton Six is a testimonial to the power of the people. This is only a partial victory. It can be completed. Collis English can go home to his mother and his amazing sister, Bessie Mitchell.

President Truman's oft-repeated words that he will fight for democracy is proof of his feeling that the American people are not passively willing to see their constitutional liberties destroyed. Neither his home nor his foreign policy has been sold to the people. We must show them how the fight is to be waged, for Truman gives no lead.

The people will fight back *now*. The St. Louis Post Dispatch

editorial against the Smith Act verdict strikes an inspiring note. Many labor press editorials eindicate an awareness. The Smith Act has set those wheels in motion that are destructive of all the rights of the organized and unorganized workers of the United States. I feel the anger of labor mounting everywhere.

We must move the people to protest the conviction of the Communist petitioners now, if we would save ourselves.

UNITY GUARANTEES VICTORY

The fight to restore the Bill of Rights can and must be mounted. The American people are not indifferent to the needs of the moment. Unity in struggle is the guarantee of victory. White men, women and youth must understand that the key to the unity of progressive America lies in the unity of black and white. We of the Civil Rights Congress have shown that this is achievable and that smashing blows can be dealt the terrible myths of white superiority that would destroy the moral fiber of millions of white Americans.

Yes, we can win. There will be casualties. There are already far too many. But the assurance that these thought-control arrests will stop is to be measured by the size of the movement which we mount.

The Bill of Rights must be restored to the people. The 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution must be enforced, not alone in the interest of the Negro people but in the interest of American democracy.

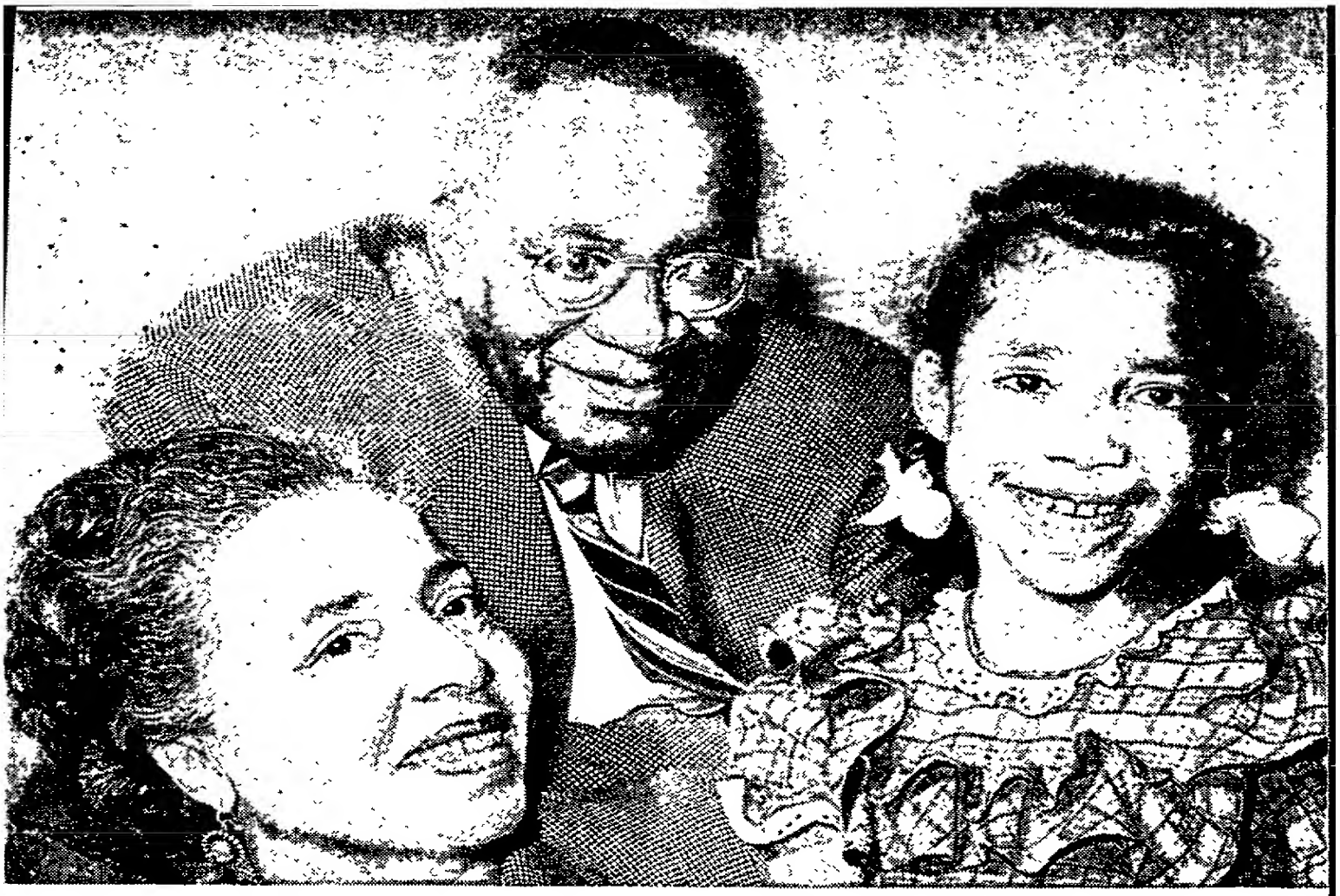
The Smith Act and its vicious class brothers, the McCarran and Taft-Hartley laws, must be repealed.

The rights of minority parties, especially the Communist Party which those who violate the Constitution seek now to destroy, must be restored, with full guarantees of free speech, free assembly and freedom of the press.

The right of bail must be restored and the bail fund of the Civil Rights Congress exempted from attack by reactionaries in State and Federal government. The four trustees must be freed.

Excessive bail must not be applied.

The Ku Klux Klan must be outlawed. "Death to Lynchers" must become a policy of government. Jim-crow and segregation and the ghetto must be wiped from the face of the earth.



"Pat," as he is affectionately known to thousands of friends and co-workers all over the country, is shown with his wife, Louise, and their 10-year old daughter, Mary Lou. Mrs. Patterson is a leader in the Council on African Affairs and a Vice-President of the International Workers Order, the only interracial fraternal order in the United States.

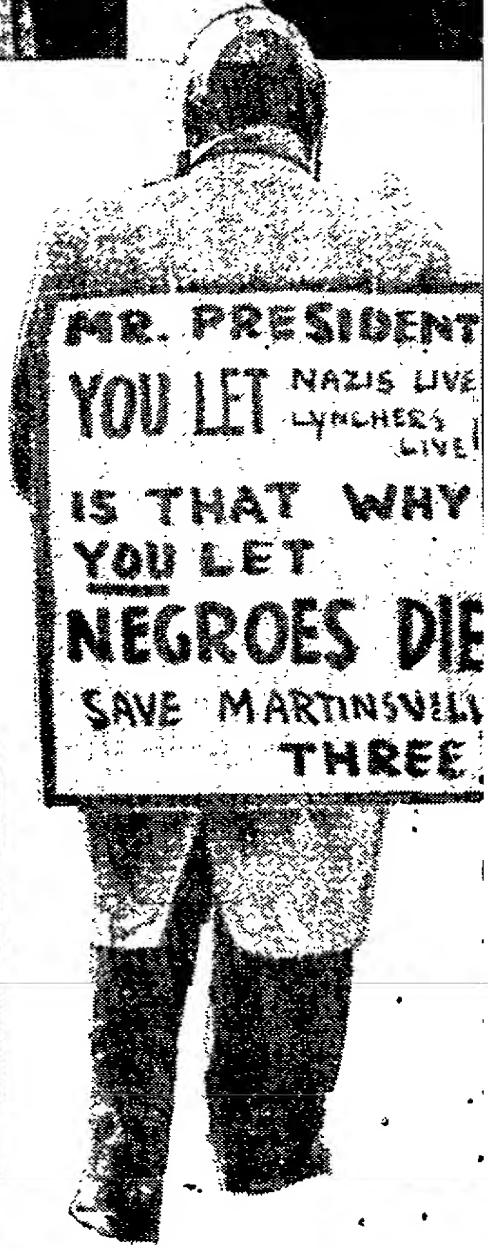
The curse of legal lynching must be driven from the land.

Anti-Semites must be summarily punished and anti-Semitism made a crime against the people.

Fair Employment Practices must be ordered and enforced.

Free speech against the crime of war must be protected in every section of our country. Peace must be made an American way of life.

Let us go forward to reaffirm our faith in our heritage of freedom by the struggle for our constitutional liberties and human rights. Victory lies ahead.



(ABOVE) Workers chained to the columns of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington demand Willie McGee's freedom—but the war-makers did not listen. (UPPER RIGHT) Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, Mrs. Rosalie McGee and Lewis Moroze (N.J. CRC leader) discuss the fight to free the remaining Trenton Two. (RIGHT) Picket marches in the cold in White House Vigil to save the Martinsville Martyrs. (BELOW) White women's delegation to Mississippi highlighted CRC's stirring struggle to save Willie McGee.

(ABOVE) Los Angeles mothers and children march in CRC picket-line to halt Smith Act persecutions and arrests. (RIGHT) Four of the Trenton Six outside death house. Afer CRC took up their fight, four were freed in a re-trial.

Win Democracy at Home!

I SHALL confine myself to the state of constitutional liberties and human rights of Negro America today, for I think this is a matter of vital importance, both to America and the world.

We Americans have grave responsibilities before history. In order to retain the respect of progressive mankind, it is imperative that we clean our own house before we set ourselves up as the arbiters of world democracy. To the degree that we here successfully defend our heritage of freedom and democracy, and advance it until it embraces all Americans regardless of creed, color, nationality, sex or political belief, to an even greater degree do we make possible the extension of human freedom to the very ends of the earth. Once that is done it will not be necessary to send our troops abroad.

We are in a most strategic position. We, in America, confront here in our own country the main body of fascist-racist thought in the world. The safety and the lives of untold millions depend upon what we do about that fact here and now. If we guarantee constitutional liberties and human rights in Mississippi and Georgia, we can be certain the people of Korea will achieve democracy. First things come first. *Our job is here.*

WOMEN — A GREAT FORCE

I entertain great faith in the ability of progressive-minded Americans to discharge their responsibilities. I believe that the women of the United States, white and black alike, constitute a great reserve for democracy. They must be drawn into militant action in its behalf. I do not believe that they will allow the hysterical cries about the danger of a foreign foe to turn their attention from the reality of legal and extra-legal lynchings here at home.

Yes, it is here at home that progressive Americans are menaced. Legal and violent lynchings constantly take place in our land. The Smith and McCarran laws undermine our Bill of Rights. The Taft-Hartley Act still stands as a club against labor. American citizens are arrested for their ideas alone. Anti-Semitism is growing. Leaders of the minority Communist Party are illegally jailed. There is wholesale corruption among the bi-partisan politicians. The Ku Klux Klan is in the ascendancy under the protective cloak of the Dixiecrats. Police brutality is rampant in every city in the land. Through terror, and through the action or passivity of the administrative, legislative and judicial branches of our federal, state and city governments, the myth of white superiority is transformed into a jimcrow policy which is a clear and present danger to all Americans, and especially Negroes.

Millions of American women recognize these facts, but do not know what to do. They can be shown.

I am brought to my conclusion by those historic crusades in the interest of justice and democracy which white women took into Mississippi, the most fascist-like section of this country, in the campaign to save Willie McGee. I come to this conclusion by reason of the stand a Negro woman juror took in Washington, D.C., in that case in which, despite loyalty oaths and intimidation, this magnificently heroic woman led her fellow Negro jurors in their refusal to convict me.

The women of America have the power to move the mountains of reaction. They are, and have always been, history makers.

Seven magnificent women invited us here. They had, I firmly believe, definite aims and desires when they agreed to sponsor this affair. Our beloved chairman, Dr. Harry Ward (a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union and professor emeritus of Union Theological Seminary), has already paid tribute to their heroism and their undying faith in the people.

For me, their recent activities constitute not only the most logical point of departure for all that I shall say, but in their pursuit of the justice and democracy they love so dearly, they have set a splendid example for us all.

WOMEN TO THE FORE

Who are these seven dauntless Americans the daily tragedy of American life has brought to the fore?

They are logical spokesmen and representatives of all the victims of the Taft-Hartley Law, the Administration's so-called loyalty tests, the Un-American Activities Committee's un-American activities, the McCarran Law and the Smith Act, the illegal raids and wiretapping of the American Gestapo, the F.B.I., and the vicious rulings of corrupt judges and hand-picked juries.

In their courage and their devotion to democratic procedure, these women, symbols of the deathless will of the people for freedom, implore us to learn from their experiences. There is no need for all to go through fascism in order to realize the weight of its horrors. In fighting to save others, let us learn through their experiences.

WIVES OF NEGRO MARTYRS

Four of these women are black Americans. Three of these four have been prematurely widowed. Their husbands were murdered on the altar of white supremacy. That is the altar fashioned by the rulers of the United States of America and the owners of its wealth and its resources—the altar upon which every vestige of honor, nobility, justice, democracy, freedom and respect for human dignity has been ruthlessly sacrificed for gold.

We must learn from these women that American reaction can be turned back. We also learn that it will not voluntarily abandon terror as a policy of government. We must learn that loyalty to country demands the repudiation of a jim-crow government.

Robert Mallard, of Georgia, husband of Amy Mallard and father of two children, was murdered by white gangsters in the white-sheeted garb of the Ku-Klux-Klan, that semi-official government agency of murder and violence. His crime was that he wanted black Americans to be able to vote.

Scores of other Negroes have been killed for the same reasons. The Dixiecrats openly declare that blood will run before *'n——rs'* will vote. The federal government accepts the edict of the Dixiecrats and its Supreme Court makes jim-crow

and segregation the law of this Republic, which is dedicated to the proposition that "all men are created equal."

Amy Mallard, wife of Robert Mallard, was not terrorized by his murder. That terrible crime awakened all of her dormant love for liberty and democracy. It sparked the fires of revolt within her. She linked her husband's murder with all of the people's struggles. She has emerged a fighting American seeking organization and a program. She has joined CRC. *Amy Mallard, I salute you.*

Francis DeSales Grayson and Willie McGee were murdered by the states of Virginia and Mississippi respectively, with the open and direct participation of the administrative and judicial branches of the federal government.

The courts were the major instruments of terror here. The black-robed gentlemen took the lead. Klan or court, the final result was the same. These innocent men are dead. That is the old story. Josephine Grayson and five children and Rosalee McGee and four children were left behind, destitute and fatherless. But the impact of these murders has made of those women freedom-fighters, seeking organization, a program and unity in struggle with their white sisters and brothers. *Josephine Grayson and Rosalee McGee, I salute you. I pledge to you that these deaths shall not be unavenged!*

Bessie Mitchell is the half-sister of Collis English, one of the innocent Negroes now known as the Trenton Two. The State of New Jersey has imprisoned him for life as an act calculated to terrorize Negro citizens. Jim-crow terror is a national institution. But there was in the heart and mind of Bessie Mitchell something of the love of freedom that relentlessly drove Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth forward to the construction of the Underground Railroad, that immortal struggle for the freedom of the slaves and an end to slavery on this continent. *The name of Bessie Mitchell will never die!*

The reign of murderous terror which has victimized these women is in varying degrees the daily lot of more than 15 millions of Americans—Negro Americans. No one tries to deny this. Some apologize and seek to explain, but there can be no denial of historical facts.

Let us face reality. There is nothing that is contradictory to the white supremacists' "American Way of Life" in this terribly alarming situation. But it cannot be the American

Way of Life for progressive men and women. Thousands of Negroes have been done to death. The ghetto, with its dope-rings, superimposed vice and indiscriminate police murder, must always be the normal way of life for those oppressed by men who reach the top by way of the Frank Costellos, Al Capones, Tammany Halls, Pendergast political gangs and Ku-Klux-Klan violence.

Terror is the very essence of their "Americanism" when they deal with the fundamental rights of the American people. There will be no exceptions. The denial of those rights must be enforced through terror. There will be murderous attacks on white as well as black, as Hitler attacked non-Jew as well as Jew. There will be only differences in the degree of terror. The great weight of their hellish crimes falls, and will, for the moment, continue to fall on the heads and shoulders of the Negro people. But white America is not exempted, as the facts of trade union history and that of minority oppositional political parties already reveal.

The profits derived through the oppression of the Negro people are greatest. The roads toward these profits have been blazed by the myth of white superiority. In the American sport of lynching and maiming Negroes, poor whites filled with racist poison can be incited and provoked by venal white preachers, the kept press, teachers and radio, to take an active part. Thus, the ranks of the people, the only true defenders of democracy, can be split along the color line and the reign of the oppressor prolonged.

White America will itself be subjected to these forms of terror in the nearest future unless it learns that the interests of black and white Americans en masse are mutual interests, and the enemy a common foe. The hour grows late. Even now many forms of what yesterday was punishment only for the Negro reach down to embrace whites who speak for peace or for equality of rights for all citizens.

GROWING NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

Jeanne Cole, wife of Lester Cole, one of the Hollywood Ten, has joined with her Negro sisters in this tribute to CRC. Her gallant husband has done his stint in an American prison. His contempt for the activities of the Un-American Activities Committee is shared by all decent thinking people.

The presence here of Jeanne Cole is a testimonial to the growing moral and political unity of white and black America. It is proof that the color bar, founded on filthy lies and unholy terror, can be overcome by the international solidarity of the people.

Edith Marzani, wife of the heroic Carl Marzani, is a woman molded in the crucible of a people's struggle. Carl Marzani has been criminally victimized by the government he served so gallantly at home and abroad.

Representative Sabath said of this man's conviction: "The latest sordid episode in the decline of human freedom in our beloved country is the conviction of Carl Marzani." His wife, Edith Marzani, is no newcomer to the struggle for human liberty. *We pledge to her our support, too.*

And lastly, there is Charlotte Stern of the Board of Directors of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, one of those heroic women imprisoned by this government of traitors to the Bill of Rights and the peace of the world. Her crime was that she refused to throw to the witch-hunters the names of those supporters of the anti-fascist fighters whom reaction in America sought to persecute.

These are the women who have sponsored this affair. Thus every pain and sorrow has its lesson. If we learn them well, we will destroy fascism before the ovens and the concentration camps are built in the U.S.A. The ruling cliques of our country are preparing for all who say "no" the hell of Hitlerism. *These heroic women have said "No—Never!" to fascist laws and edicts.*

WOMEN WHO WENT TO MISSISSIPPI

But there is yet another group of American women who by their significant courage and unparalleled action are also sponsors of this Civil Rights Congress gathering, as well as guides to future action.

They are the white women who went into Mississippi to express their hatred of lynch justice and those who have spread it across our land; who went to cement the progressive North and the militant South. Nothing that I can say can adequately describe the lessons they have taught us.

"If you would fight American fascism," they have said in effect, "then go into the heart of the lynchers' states, where

the evils of racism daily reflect themselves in the most vicious form. Go South; see the degraded and dehumanized white Americans and the Negro people they have been taught to degrade and dehumanize. There you can confront the monster for whom lynching is the accepted American way of life. There you can refute their bestial racist propaganda. There you can strike a vital blow at those who, controlling the industrial life of our country, have in racism an avenue to ever greater profits and who demand that their money tree be watered with the blood of lynched Negroes and the ground fertilized with their flesh. There, also, will you find white and black Americans of matchless moral strength, political courage and understanding, who want only to know that they have allies in the North and West that are ready, willing and able to fight together with them."

Those women who went South made history. They carried the spirit of the Abolitionists along with them. They are crusaders who make the continued failure of the American church to organize a moral crusade against the system of jim-crow and its accompanying terror stand forth in all its naked bankruptcy.

Those heroic women have challenged every progressive thinker in America. But their activities above all else call for the formulation of an advanced and intensified program of struggle.

UNITY IN STRUGGLE

History does not demand that in defense of our constitutional liberties and human rights the terror of government and the unspeakable crimes of its courts be countered by a people's terror.

The lynchers, their Klans, the white supremacists, those for whom gangsterism is also a policy of government, those for whom the loot of the spoil system is a way of life, can be beaten by the moral and political unity of the people, by the unity in democratic struggle of white and black America. But to assure these victories, the struggle we waged in behalf of the Martinsville Seven and Willie McGee can only mark a beginning.

We organized too little, too late. Millions more must see these struggles as vital to their daily needs. If this task is not

achieved by us, then our country can be bathed in blood.

The Negro people cannot longer endure this nation-wide persecution and oppression.

Everywhere they cry, as their great leader, W. E. B. Du Bois said in his "Litany at Atlanta"—'Doth not this justice of hell stink in Thy nostrils, oh God? How long shall the mounting flood of innocent blood roar in Thine ears and pound in our hearts for vengeance? Pile the pale frenzy of blood-crazed brutes who do such deeds high on Thine altar, Jehovah Jirah, and burn it in hell forever and forever!'

Little doubt remains in the minds of the Negro people but that they are the unhappy victims of the crimes of a bi-partisan terror that had its beginning in the betrayal in 1876 of the victories won in the bloody fraticidal battles of the Civil War. What little doubt remains is being rapidly dispelled.

NEGRO MISLEADERS CONDEMNED

Those Negro 'leaders' bedecked with Nobel prizes, United Nations Commissions and seated on federal court benches can no longer conceal the crimes of the government they serve against the Negro people.

They may proclaim the justice of the war their masters wage abroad, but they can no longer bring the Negro people to believe that the spilling of the blood of a colored people five thousand miles away will bring democracy to black men in America.

It is becoming clear that he who serves these un-Americans in government serves the lynchers of the Negro people.

The lynching of Willie McGee is destroying those legalistic illusions which linger longest. What a dastardly crime the governments of Mississippi and the nation perpetrated as they murdered this innocent man! They sneered in the face of a world-wide protest movement sponsored by decent men and women.

His dying words must ring forever in our ears:

'Taking my life,' he said, *'doesn't end such things as have been existing, will be existing till the end of the world. There is a lot more things that causes me not to get a fair decision about this, solely because I am a Negro; this is a white woman. Being born in the South, know the laws, and then when a Negro, myself, being caught in this, having connection with a*

white woman, that I was certain to a death penalty. So it is not the crime when a person give you consent and you by all means try to get away. It is a case of something that you can't and you won't and I did not have the chance to state to the courts my case for the simple reason my attorneys were afraid to bring these things out, having witnesses and proof that the statements I gave you are true and correct.'

Willie McGee, innocent of all crimes save that of being born black in America, is dead. The enemies of the people have won. The state adds his blood to that which has run from the bodies of ten thousand murdered Negroes. But he calls upon us to bring an end to that world of horror and torment.

Again, to borrow from the words of Dr. Du Bois: 'In the pale, still morning, we looked upon the deed. We stopped our ears and held our leaping hands, but they—did they not wag their hands and leer and cry with bloody jaws.'

LYNCHING TIED TO GHETTO

Who, I ask you, can find an apology abject enough to fit this crime? Who can separate it from the murder of the innocent Martinsville Seven, from the ghettos where the enemies of decency pour vice, dope and corruption into our youth? Who says this is not linked to the ghetto trial of the innocent Trenton Six and and the Peekskill pogrom. The blinded Isaac Woodward was not accused of rape; Maceo Snipes was murdered because he dared to vote.

This ruling clique has made of our America a land of force and violence and corruption against the people. Yet there are those who say that the lynchers, the pogromists, the anti-Semites have a constitutional right to spew their racism and their hatred for the people and to incite to lynchings and to murder. It's a lie. There is no constitutional right to do these monstrous things. It is a special license they would give to those who murder because of color and religious differences.

Those who rule prepare their concentration camps for those who protest this hell. Those who rule America prepare war in the face of the peace-cries of the people of the world. But they can be stopped. History does not lie.

The innocent, from the ranks of the people, black and white alike, must be freed. The guilty from the Trumans, Dulles, Deweys, Tafts, to the gangsters whose word is law in every

city in our beloved country, must be punished. The policy of jim-crow and segregation must end. The Stuyvesant Towns must be opened to all alike. *The walls of the ghetto must fall!*

The admonition of the immortal Lincoln must be understood as of decisive importance today. That deathless leader called for a government of the people, by the people and for the people. Who can say that such a demand is un-American, subversive and in the interests of a foreign government? Only such a government will protect the constitutional rights of the people and make of them real guarantees.

GUILTY OF GENOCIDE

The present rulers of America are guilty of the crimes Justice Robert M. Jackson charged against the Nazis at the Nuremburg trials. They are guilty of genocide against the Negro people, guilty of carrying on a campaign leading to the death and destruction of millions.

As a result of the Nuremburg trials, the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 11, 1946, formulated the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. That has become a part of the basic law of our country. To save ourselves and mankind we should use that law against our own oppressors.

We can submit before any court in the world, and must submit to the United Nations, proof of killings by police, killings by press and radio-incited gangs, killings at night by masked men, killings by the Ku-Klux-Klan, killings always on the basis of race.

We must submit proof of official violence which led to death on chain gangs, in the back rooms of sheriffs' offices, in the cells of county jails, in precinct police stations and on city streets; proof that hundreds have been framed and murdered by sham legal forms, by a legal bureaucracy; hundreds killed for failure to say 'sir' or to tip their hats or move aside quickly enough, or on trumped up charges of rape when in reality they were trying to vote, or for demanding the rights and privileges constitutionally guaranteed to all Americans.

We must offer proof of the terrors of the city ghettos and their rural equivalent where segregation exists by law and force and violence; where men, women and youth are crowded into filthy, disease-bearing houses; deprived of adequate medi-

cal care and education; with jim-crow buses, trains, hospitals, schools, churches, restaurants, theaters, hotels and, finally, jim-crow cemeteries and those even for dogs owned by Negroes. Washington, our capitol, the disgrace to the nation, affords the proof.

We must submit proof of the efforts made to destroy every political party which defends the rights of the Negro people, and especially the Communist Party—all in violation of the Constitution and the Convention on Genocide.

When we have presented this proof to the opinion of the civilized world and the United Nations, we will not have ended our fight—for those who oppress us now control the activities of the United Nations.

MONUMENTAL ROLE FOR NEGROES

History has placed the Negro people in an enviable position. We who are black Americans can play a monumental role in safeguarding the democracy of our country and the peace of the world. If we are to play well our part in this greatest of all great dramas, we must be guided by the words of that magnificent black man, Frederick Douglass, who said:

> 'If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power conceded nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will.'

There will be struggles, desperate struggles, and the Civil Rights Congress will play, we hope, a not inglorious part in these, for they will be struggles to preserve democracy.

Birthday Greetings

Messages and telegrams of greetings to William L. Patterson on his 60th Birthday poured in to the great Negro civil rights leader on August 23, 1951, from all parts of the United States.

The children of Willie McGee, innocent Negro legally lynched on the frame-up charge of rape, wrote him: *"We love our Daddy, but thanks to God, we still have you to fight for peace and for the rights of all people. We love you."*

From Velma Washington, wife of Paul Washington, another innocent Negro whose legal lynching the Civil Rights Congress and William L. Patterson are now fighting to prevent, came the wire: *"I won't stop till the whole world has heard me and we have won the battle for our people. I wish Pat a happy, happy birthday, and hope he lives to see many, many more."*

Negro and white union leaders all over the country sent their congratulations. Among the messages were wires from *William Hood,* Negro leader of UAW Ford Local 600; *Harry Bridges,* President of the International Longshore Workers Union; *Nina Evans,* President of Local 149 of the Domestic Workers Union; *Hugh Bryson,* President of the Marine Cooks and Stewards; *Hyman Gordon,* President of Local 107 of the AFL Paper Bag Workers; and many others.

George Crawford, Negro, imprisoned for 18 years in the Virginia State Penitentiary on a manufactured murder charge, was one of many prisoners to send their greetings to the civil rights fighter. *"Pat deserves the best in the world for what he is doing for people like me,"* wrote Crawford.

Among others who sent greetings were *Josephine Grayson,* widow of the martyred Francis DeSales Grayson, one of the murdered Martinsville Seven; *Frank Borich, Tony Cattonar* and *Peter Harisiades,* imprisoned at the time on Ellis Island; *William Harrison, Larkin Marshall* and *W. P. Dabney,* editors of Negro newspapers; *John M. Coe,* Southern white attorney; *John Howard Lawson,* playwright; *Howard Fast,* novelist; leaders of the *Labor Youth League, the Jewish Peoples Order, the American Labor Party, the Progressive Party; indicted Communist leaders, CRC chapters* in many states, including Hawaii; *the American Slav Congress,* and countless others.

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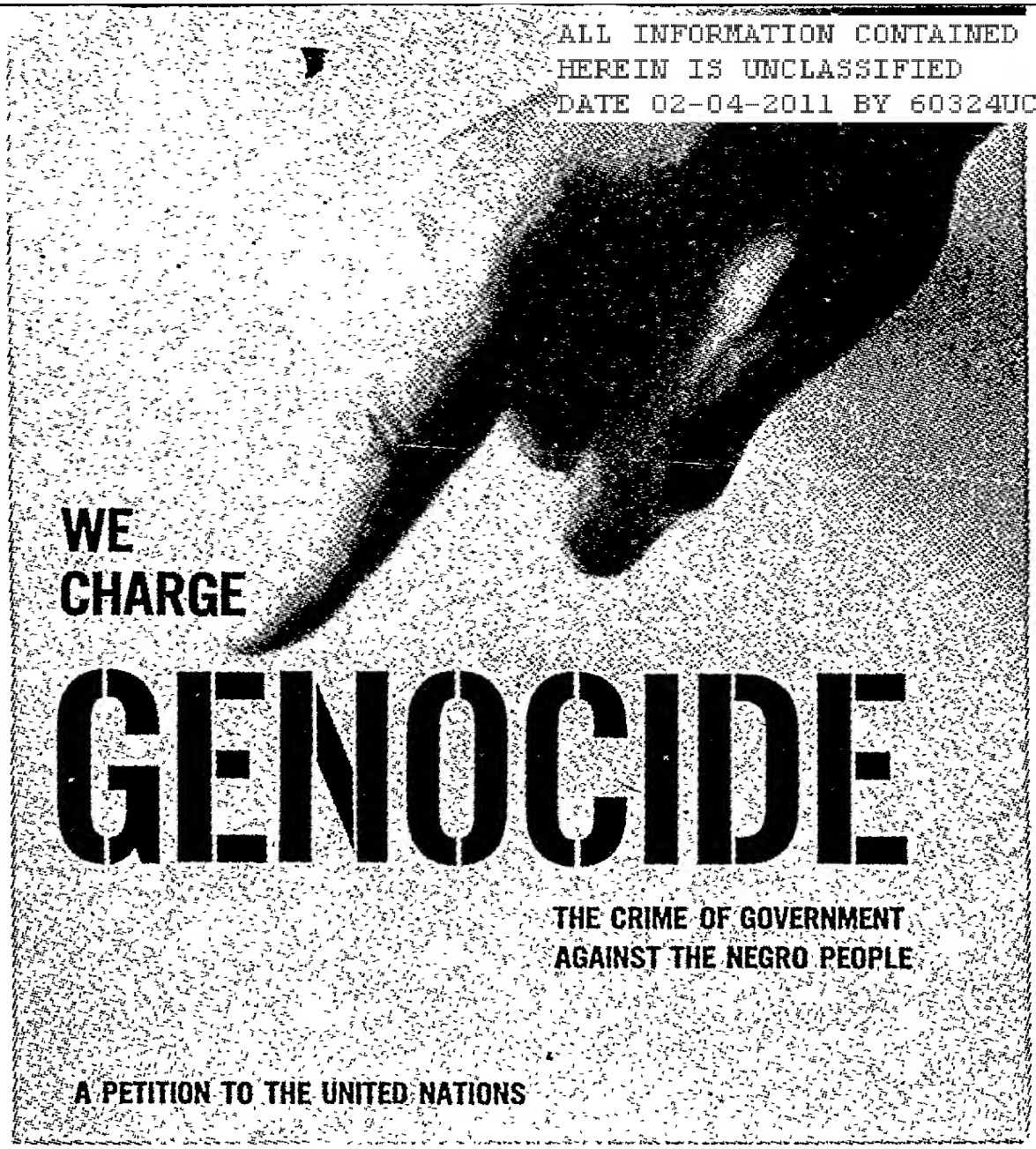

The historic petition to the United Nations—now available—a documented expose of how Jimcrow and segregation enforced through terror have become an official policy of government.

"WE CHARGE GENOCIDE!" was prepared by a group of leading American writers, research workers and attorneys, under the editorial supervision of William L. Patterson. It is a new and powerful weapon in the fight against Jimcrow and the peril to democracy and peace!

Order *"WE CHARGE GENOCIDE!"* now from your local Civil Rights Congress chapter, or from the National Office of the Civil Rights Congress, 23 W. 26th Street, New York.

Paper bound $1.50.
Cloth bound $2.50.

What Is the Civil Rights Congress?

The Civil Rights Congress, the fighting organization which is led by William L. Patterson, unites Negro and white citizens in mutual defense of their constitutional rights.

It has chapters or committees in every major city in the country.

The Civil Rights Congress fights against jim-crow in all its forms and in every field—for labor's rights—for freedom of thought—freedom of political organization.

Inspired by the leadership of William L. Patterson, CRC's members organize committees, distribute leaflets, make speeches, and organize people's delegations like those which went into Virginia for the Martinsville Seven, into the Dixiecrat stronghold of Jackson, Mississippi, in the fight to save Willie McGee.

CRC members organized the national and world-wide mass campaigns which saved the Trenton Six from death.

Because it realizes that the rights of all Americans are endangered when the rights of a minority political party are destroyed, CRC vigorously defends the rights of the Communist Party.

Join and build the Civil Rights Congress—militant defender of the Bill of Rights!

Civil Rights Congress
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, N. Y.

Please send me more information about the Civil Rights Congress.

I would like to join the Civil Rights Congress. Enclosed is $1.00 for my 1952 membership.

I am enclosing a contribution of $..... to help the Civil Rights Congress in this crucial hour in our nation's history as the CRC fights to maintain the people's democratic rights.

Name .....

Address ..... *City* .....

Rec. 7-9-52
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FWS

THE RIGHT TO SPEAK FOR PEACE

From the official record of the Pittsburgh "sedition" trial. (The prosecutor has submitted a peace pamphlet as evidence of an attempt "to overthrow the government . . ." Steve Nelson, one of the Pittsburgh Six, is defending himself.)

NELSON: *"Your honor, I would like to know what the prosecution intends to show with this document..."*

COURT: *"They are reading papers in your possession."*

NELSON: *"Well, is it wrong . . . to be opposed to the war policies of the Administration?"*

PROSECUTOR: *"I object to these speeches."*

NELSON: *"In 1847 when this country fought a war against Mexico . . ."*

COURT: (*shouting*) *"Wait a minute."*

NELSON: (*continuing*) *"Lincoln got up and opposed it. He was Congressman at that time and said that we had no business going into that war."*

COURT: (*still shouting*) *"Mr. Nelson . . ."*

NELSON: (*continuing*) *"I am doing the same thing, Your Honor."*

COURT: *"Restrain this defendant by force . . ."*

IF NELSON AND OTHERS ARE JAILED FOR THIS, WHAT HAPPENS TO OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS?

By HAROLD SPENCER

Preface by HOWARD FAST

PRICE 10 CENTS

Preface

THE story told in the following pages provides a background to one of the mighty dramas of our time. We are all too likely to think of heroes and superb acts of heroism as belonging to the past, and we are all too slow to recognize them as part of our present struggle.

Yet the struggle of Steve Nelson and the drama of Steve Nelson's battle for justice, for America and for human decency in the courts of Pittsburgh, is an act of heroism worthy to rank with any of our time.

It is a criminal misnomer to term this case "The people against Steve Nelson," as it is officially noted in the court record. In all truth it can be named in only one fashion, "Steve Nelson for the people of the United States against fascism, war, indecency and injustice."

In this prosecution in Pittsburgh, other men stood with Steve Nelson. His central role does not and cannot detract from their own stature and heroism. What follows is the story of all these men. Read it carefully and with a deep sense of history, for it contains not only a significant part of your own destiny, but the destiny of unborn generations of Americans as well.

HOWARD FAST

It is March, 1952.

In the past year, three men in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania—members of the Communist Party—have been convicted under the Pennsylvania State Sedition Act, charged with attempting to overthrow by force and violence the government of Pennsylvania and the government of the United States. The main evidence against them was that they possessed and circulated literature. If they are actually guilty of planning any force and violence against anyone, then we in Pennsylvania—and in other states, too—should feel insecure as long as they are in our midst.

Well, they are among us (free until their appeal is decided). They live in homes. They have neighbors and associate with many different kinds of people. Yet no one really feels alarmed, even though there is no question but what they believe and act in the same manner as before.

Here is their record — past and present.

Progressive — Yes . . . But where is the crime?

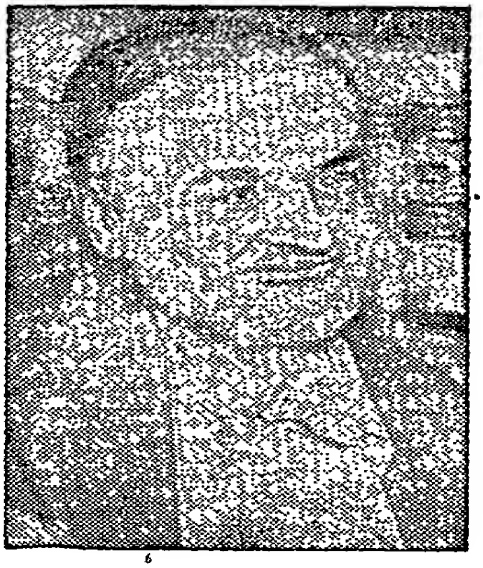
James H. Dolsen, age 66, a journalist, is one of those convicted. Descended from one of the first settlers on Neue Amsterdam, now

New York City, and counting among his forefathers a fighter in the American Revolution, Dolsen became associated with progressive labor newspapers as soon as he left college. In the late 1920's, when the anti-imperialist struggles were developing in China, he visited that country and wrote a book about that movement. For the past 10 years he has been a correspondent for the *Daily Worker* — a newspaper that stands for Socialism and that supports the Communist Party's efforts to achieve it.

JAMES H. DOLSEN

He is still on this job. And as before, so now, he writes mainly of the struggles of the common people —for better living conditions, for the rights of Negroes and other minorities, for peace.

Then there is Andy Onda, a son of Slovak immigrants. At eighteen, he was already working in the Jones and Laughlin steel mills in Pittsburgh's Southside. Hours were 12 or more a day, and the pay was low. There was no union then. Later, when he learned that William Z. Foster was a Communist, he remembered that it was this same man who stood up against the steel trusts in an attempt to organize the workers in the A. F. of L. It was as a Communist that Onda participated in the CIO steel organizing campaign in the 1930's.



ANDY ONDA

Today Onda has a serious heart condition, and is unwillingly inactive. But in his closing address to the jury, in his own behalf, he boldly defended his activities as a Communist, and declared that the rest of his life would be devoted to following his principles.

Steve Nelson is the third defendant. Since the newspapers and radio constantly refer to him mysteriously as the "top Red," you may want a more detailed description of him.

Like millions of other people from working class families, Steve Nelson had to go to work before he finished grammar school. He

learned carpentry and joined the union as soon as he was eligible. Since employment in the building trades is seasonal, he also worked in the stockyards and the steel mills—at Jones & Laughlin in Aliquippa. While still in his 20's (he is now 49) he became interested in books and ideas on how to improve living conditions of the working people.

But you want to know what led up to his being charged with attempting to overthrow the government by force and violence. Let him tell you in the words he used in the courtroom. He is speaking a few months after the case in which he was originally a defendant with Onda and Dolsen. Nelson had been injured in an automobile accident in the middle of that trial, and separated from the case. He was tried alone, and without an attorney to help him. He and his wife Margaret had written to 700 lawyers in the county asking them to represent him, but the red-baiting hysteria had penetrated their ranks, too, and they were afraid that they would be branded as Communist sympathizers if they accepted a Communist client. Only two lawyers agreed to serve, but they asked for two weeks to acquaint themselves with the record and to study the literature that the prosecutors were using as evidence of sedition. The judge refused to grant a delay. So we hear Nelson as he conducts his own defense, giving this description of his activities:

"During the depression, ladies and gentlemen, I was arrested and I was tried before a jury of twelve people. The charge against me was 'force and violence,' for organizing the unemployed and insisting that our government ought to pass an Unemployment Insurance Bill, that taxes should be put on the rich so that when a man loses a job through no fault of his own he gets unemployment insurance. Well, at that time, the people were able to see through that conspiracy. The jury found me 'not guilty.' And I will tell you something, we were the first ones to draft an unemployment insurance bill in this country, and I had something to do with that as a young man in 1930."

"And in this very State, scores of times I led delegations to the State Legislature. For what did we go down there? To overthrow the Government? We went down there and we said to the State Legislature: 'Pass an emergency bill to feed the unemployed.' I was one of those delegates."

"I was then an organizer in the Anthracite coal area. The prosecution said they were going to bring out my activities in the Anthracite. But they didn't, and had good reason not to. It's an open book. Thousands of people know what I have done, even though it was over twenty years ago, and I am proud of every inch of that work."

"Then on foreign issues. We stated in the early 1930's when Hitler came to power, that he was planning war on all the democratic nations, including the United States. At that time big politicians used to make trips to Europe and have pictures taken with the Nazi generals. William Randolph Hearst, publisher of the Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph, had his picture taken with Hess—you recall the name. When he came back he said, 'You have got to support Hitler,' and many backers gave arms to Hitler and Mussolini and we said that was wrong, and because we said that, we were called foreign agents."

"Ladies and gentlemen, Hitler and Tojo used those American loans we made to shoot our own people down. You know that. I was active then in an organization known as the League Against War and Fascism. I was its membership secretary."

"I will show you what we did then. We fought against these loans to Tojo and Mussolini and Hitler and we said that the democratic countries ought to get together and prevent Hitler from attacking other nations and we opposed the terrible things Hitler did against the Jews in Germany."

"There was another story brought out here. I fought in Spain. I was one of the 3,000 American volunteers. We felt that if democracy in Spain was overthrown by force and violence of Mussolini and Hitler; that the next step was going to war against our own country. And three years after that war did occur against our nation."

Still For Peace — Is It a Crime?

Steve Nelson brought his record of activity up to date when the prosecutor introduced a pamphlet which calls upon people to protest the war in Korea. As the prosecutor started to argue that this call for peace was "seditious," Nelson interrupted. We quote from the record:

NELSON: "Your Honor, I would like to know what the prosecution intends to show with this document. It appears that he wants to justify the continuation of the war in Korea when the majority of the country doesn't want it."

COURT: "They are reading. . . ."

NELSON: (interrupting) "instead of stopping it."

COURT: "They are reading papers in your possession. . . ."

NELSON: "Well, it is wrong that citizens of the United States be opposed to the policies of the Administration?"

COURT: "You can argue that later."

NELSON: "They can't say I went out and told the soldiers to refuse to go. We said: 'Write to Congress. Tell Congress to stop the war'."

COURT: "If you want to enter an objection to it, or another reason for your objection, we will note it."

NELSON: "I will state another reason, Your Honor."

PROSECUTOR: "I object to these speeches."

NELSON: "In 1847 when this country fought a war against Mexico. . . ."

COURT: (shouting) "Wait a minute."

NELSON: (continuing) "Lincoln got up and opposed it. He was Congressman at that time and said that we had no business going into that war."

COURT: (still shouting) "Mr. Nelson. . . ."

NELSON: (continuing) "I am doing the same thing, your Honor."

COURT: "Restrain this defendant by force, or will you calm down and be seated?"

The next page of the court record shows that even after the Judge's

Steve Nelson with his wife, Margaret, and their children, Bobby, age 9, Josephine, age 11.

threat, Nelson continued to speak, telling the jury and the audience in the court-room that because he calls for an end to the war in Korea, he is facing 20 years in jail. But no matter how courageously he stands up for his right of free speech, there is a danger that he will be silenced. For with the Pennsylvania Sedition Act in operation, the courts can jail anyone who expresses ideas that Big Business doesn't like. If we look back to 1919, when the law was passed, we will see that this was its purpose.

The Sedition Act Was First Designed to Give Union-Smashing a "New Look"

It was after World War I. President Woodrow Wilson had popularized the phrase "New Freedom," and there was enthusiasm among workers for organizing unions. The Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association naturally was opposed. Earlier, the manufacturers could get the courts to rule, without making any bones about it, that it was a criminal conspiracy for labor to organize. But that was in the last century. Labor had become strong enough by 1919 to make public opinion reject such shameless injustice, and now it was no longer illegal to organize. The manufacturers needed a new law that would give them the power to smash unions as before, and at the same time would sit well with the public. That's why they came up with their Sedition Act. Here is an example of how it was used:

In 1926 some workers from Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, which is controlled by the Mellon interests, were meeting in a private home in Aliquippa, near Pittsburgh. Police, whose salary came from the same steel company's treasury, invaded the home, arrested the workers and grabbed literature that was there, including some Marxist books. With this literature as evidence, the steel workers were tried under the Sedition Act. The old charge of "criminal conspiracy to organize a union" was now changed to "overthrowing the government."

When this Sedition Act was first proposed by the manufacturers, it was opposed by all organized labor, from Sam Gompers, national president of the A. F. of L.—to James Maurer, then President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor — to the rank and file workers. Tom Kennedy, a leader of the United Mine Workers, went with a thousand miners to Harrisburg to campaign against this frame-up law. As a result of this wide protest, there were no more of these prosecutions after the Aliquppa trial for 20 years, and many Pennsylvania workers thought that the Sedition Act was dead.

Now the Sedition Act Has a New Purpose—Silencing Peace

Then came the Korean war in 1950, and the manufacturers with interests in Western Pennsylvania had good reason to revive the Sedition Act. Many of their plants turned to producing war goods.

Here was, besides Jones & Laughlin, the Crucible Steel Co., the Westinghouse Electric Corp., Aluminum Co. of America, U. S. Steel Corp. The Mellon interests, together with the Morgans and Rockefellers, control all of them. This war would be good business for them.

But here also were the Communist Party leaders, and they were calling for a stop to the war in Korea. That is why they were prosecuted. They could not, of course, be charged openly with speaking for peace. So the Sedition Act was used again—to charge "overthrow of the government." At the beginning of the Sedition Act trial in 1951, Judge Michael Musmanno, who engineered the whole frame-up, declared (it's in the official record) that he initiated the prosecution because Nelson, Onda and Dolsen spoke in favor of bringing the American boys back from Korea.

Musmanno—a Natural for Frame-Up Job

It should not be surpising that when laws are used to serve the political and economic interests of a small group of millionaires, instead of to protect the public, that we will find that trials under such conditions are conducted by people who have no respect for Constitutional and human rights.

What kind of person is it who had the job of engineering this Sedition trial? Musmanno ran for office on a "Mellon ticket" in 1928, which placed him on the side of forces frankly anti-labor. But at another time, he associated himself with the defense movement for Sacco and Vanzetti—two men framed up on a murder charge because they had a dream for abolishing labor exploitation.

It was a big asset for a politician to get a Mellon blessing. And as for Musmanno's interest in Sacco and Vanzetti—well, the case lasted 87 months, and he didn't get into it until the 85th month. By then, millions of people saw through the frameup and were supporting the defense. It was good politics then for Musmanno to risk being called a "red" or "Communist" for his connection with the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

Consider another example of Musmanno's double-dealing. In 1937, he was making orations for the CIO, which at that time was conducting sit-down strikes in plants to make owners recognize labor's right to organize. And yet, when Mussolini suppressed the same kind of militancy in Italy through inflicting murderous beatings and doses of castor oil on the Italian workers, Musmanno praised the bloody dictator for his "purification of the Italian soil." (In a letter to the Pittsburgh Press on February 20, 1926.) What Musmanno did at any particular time was always determined by how many votes he thought it would bring him.

In Spirit of Sedition Act, Violating Constitution, Musmanno Forges Ahead

In 1950, Musmanno was a Common Pleas Court Judge, and entered a political campaign for Lieutenant-Governor. With McCarthy getting

big headlines for calling Truman a Communist, it looked as if red-baiting would make the best political hay. Musmanno plunged into his red-baiting campaign with no holds barred. He demanded that the Pittsburgh Communist Party leaders be arrested. District Attorney William A. Rahauser answered that he could not make the arrests, since there was no proof that the intended victims had violated a law.

But Judge Musmanno was operating in the spirit of the Sedition Act. He would take an act that is legal, and use it as evidence for a frame-up. He went to the Communist Party headquarters, and asked Dolsen for some literature that was on sale there. Dolsen sold to him, as to anybody else. This literature department had been operating publicly for many years, and was open to anybody who wanted to buy.

Perhaps since his rebuff from District Attorney Rahauser, Musmanno felt he couldn't get anyone to agree with him that this literature transaction was evidence of an attempt to overthrow the government. At any rate, operating again in the spirit of the Sedition Act, he disregarded the regular legal channels, and took the job of policeman and raided the literature office to obtain his evidence and arrest his victims, — all to the accompaniment of newspapermen and photographers to assure him publicity for his campaign.

But that was not all. When Nelson, Onda and Dolsen were arrainged for a hearing, the Magistrate proposed to set bail at $10,000— already an unreasonably high amount. Musmanno demanded that bail be set at $100,000, which was of course the same as denying the right of bail completely—in defiance of the Constitution. Who would take the dirty job of arguing for this illegal procedure? Musmanno the judge, who had become Musmanno the policeman, now turned himself into Musmanno the prosecutor, and brazenly made the demand. (Which, by the way, was rejected.)

To show how low this hungry politician will stoop to gain office, we skip a year from the time he engineered his first election campaign stunt under the Sedition Act. Now he had behind him the conviction of Dolsen and Onda. But the publicity didn't pay off. Musmanno was defeated for Lieutenant-Governor. However, he was already engaged in another political campaign — for justice of the State Supreme Court. His red-baiting anti-communist crusade must become more sensational. So he took on the role of a detective. He would put on an act of tracking down Steve Nelson.

Actually, of course, Musmanno knew that Steve Nelson was helplessly bedridden with injuries from an auto accident, and that since leaving the hospital he was recuperating in the home of a friend in Philadelphia. The newspapers had many times published this information, including his exact address. But Judge Musmanno travelled to Philadelphia, and accompanied by two detectives, stormed into Nelson's sick-room, stared at him a few moments as he lay out-

stretched on the bed with his crutches beside him, and tauntingly asked: "When are you coming back to Pittsburgh, Steve?" Nelson told him to get out, and he left. Musmanno had accomplished his mission. He reported to the newspapers that he found and spoke to Steve Nelson. It should be recorded, though, that one of the deputies lingered behind to whisper to Nelson: "I'm sorry. I didn't know I was being dragged into anything this low."

Musmanno could not act as the trial judge in this Pittsburgh sedition case, but he DID have the power to select the judge to preside over Steve Nelson's second trial which began last December. At this time, Musmanno had already won the election for justice of the State Supreme Court (with less than 10% of the voters participating in the primaries). His political ambition, however, was far from satisfied. He had written a book once in which he imagined himself to be President of the United States. As this pamphlet is being written, he is encouraging a boom for himself as the next Governor of Pennsylvania. In order to guarantee a successful conclusion to his stunt for persecuting Steve Nelson, Musmanno picked as the judge for this trial a Harry M. Montgomery, vice-president of Americans Battling Communism. The nature of this organization is illustrated by the following incident.

Who DOES Stand for Force and Violence?

Just before his second trial, Nelson was ordered by Judge Montgomery to go to the Pittsburgh West Penn Hospital for some medical tests in connection with his automobile accident injuries, to see if he was fit to undergo a trial. This hospital is used by the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, a subsidiary of the U. S. Steel. Dr. J. Huber Wagner, head surgeon for the U. S. Steel Corp., was appointed by the court to perform the tests.

At the hospital, Nelson was given an anasthetic. Just a few minutes after he regained consciousness from it, a man about 40-years old, flashing a revolver, stormed into the ward shouting that he was a member of Americans Battling Communism, and approached Nelson with a threat to kill him. Fortunately, a coal-miner in an adjoining bed came to the rescue and helped Nelson throw the gunman out. The gangster, however, felt free to remain in the corridor for another ten minutes to make threats and utter vile curses to Nelson's wife and two children who were visiting him that day. In the meantime, hospital attendants came on the scene. But this gunman who boasted membership in Americans Battling Communism was allowed to walk out of the hospital. No arrest was made.

Guilty of Reason—Can You Outlaw Ideas?

We have seen that because this Sedition trial was based on a lie, each step in the prosecution had to be carried out by someone who cared nothing for constitutional or human rights—and that Musmanno

took the role of policeman, detective, prosecutor and judge-picker. To complete this case, another assault on our American way of life was needed. A person must come into the courtroom to interpret the books being used as evidence. He will be an "expert" witness He will claim that his interpretation is the only one that people have a legal right to hold—that anyone with a different interpretation must go to jail—perhaps for 20 years.

Now there are scholars, writers, professors, who might speak with authority on these books. But they would want their views to be presented to the public—to be studied, discussed, and then acted upon —perhaps at the ballot-box*. Only a pompous faker with an axe to grind would claim that anyone who holds a different idea has thereby broken the law. In our country, if we abide by the First Amendment guaranteeing free speech, what a person believes or reads or speaks can't be illegal (unless he slanders someone); only his acts that lead to public disorder can be illegal.

And so this policy of taking ideas out of the public arena and into the courtroom is contrary to every democratic principle known to man. This is putting books on trial. Such matters could not be decided by jurors even if all 12 of them were Einsteins. Each man wants the right to use his own reason. Any other way puts us in a mental straight-jacket and leads directly to concentration camps for all who oppose the views of those in power. Who will dishonor himself by stepping forward as an "expert" witness in these fascist-like thought-control trials?

That, too, is a job that fits Musmanno.

At the very outset, he demonstrated that he was not familiar with the material he undertook to explain. He admitted that of the 180 books, in evidence, he had read only four. When he was asked about his understanding of CAPITAL, by Karl Marx, which is the main Marxist theoretical study, he answered that he had read it only slightly, because it was "too dull and heavy" for him to study.

Besides lacking scholarship, Musmanno was committed to fascist beliefs that disqualified him. He had chosen Italy as a place to study law while Mussolini was imposing his bloody dictatorship there, and praised the use of violence that was directed against the workers by the fascist storm-troopers. Musmanno is therefore such a blind uncompromising opponent of Marxism as to make him totally unfit to render the objective judgment required in trials by law. Even Judge Mont-

*Because Musmanno was allowed, even after he demonstrated his ignorance, to claim that the Communists advocate "force and violence," it was necessary for Steve Nelson to call Dr. Herbert Aptheker, a real historian and Marxist scholar, to expose Musmanno's distortions. Dr. Aptheker cited history to show that Communists advocate Socialism as their ultimate aim, and that the monopolies which fear Socialism and oppose labor resort to force and violence to keep themselves in power. This case, however, was to be decided not on historical facts, but on "dangerous thoughts" that Musmanno claimed he could see in Steve Nelson's mind.

gomery, vice-president of Americans Battling Communism, felt uncomfortable as Steve Nelson in his second trial exposed the fakery of Musmanno's pretentions. We quote from the record:

NELSON: "Your Honor, I object to Musmanno being brought here as an expert."

COURT: "I don't know whether he (the prosecutor) can qualify him."

NELSON: "I don't think he can. It's like asking Hitler to express an opinion on democracy."

COURT: ". . . I would certainly afford him the opportunity of showing that he has more knowledge than you or I or any other member of the jury has. . . ."

NELSON: "Your Honor, you can't be an employer operating an open-shop and qualify on the rights and duties of trade unions."

COURT: "Well, I don't know."

NELSON: "Consequently, you couldn't have him qualified as an expert on issues that he deliberately tries to distort."

At this point there was a hurried exchange of glances between Musmanno and Montgomery, and then:

COURT: "I think we are going to recess. We are supposed to recess at one o'clock. However, we are going to recess at this time, anyhow!"

But even if Musmanno was an expert on what Communists advocate instead of a faker, who is going to crawl into Steve Nelson's mind to determine what his interpretation was while he was reading these books?

The court does not attempt to answer this question. This is a witch-hunt, so the prosecutors do not have to observe logic or reason. Let us recreate a scene from this tragic comedy of errors.

Placed on a big hand truck alongside the prosecution table was a pile of several hundred books and pamphlets—studies in economics, political science, peace movements, history, philosophy, etc. Some are by Marxists and some by other recognized scholars. The prosecutor picked up a handful of them and said to the court:

"Your Honor, we have some books here merely for identification and we offer them in evidence without reading."

Nelson shot back:

"Why doesn't the prosecution put it on a scale? That would be the way to do it: by the pound. What is the difference what is in them?"

But remember, dear reader, these are not lines from a play. The prosecutors rest their case on this literature. People are to be locked in jail for many years on the charge that they have dangerous thoughts.

This Poison Spreads

Some who are reading this pamphlet may deplore this abuse by our courts and yet feel that it is only because the defendants are Communists that Steve Nelson and the others are being persecuted. Supreme Court Justice William Douglas warned against this ostrich-like attitude in these words: "Suspicion grows until today only the orthodox idea is the safe one. Suspicion grows until only the person who loudly proclaims the orthodox view, who once having been a Communist, has been converted, is trustworthy. Fear runs rampant."

The Philadelphia Tribune, a leading Negro weekly, warns that by

such reasoning, "If a white person enters a Negro home, that Negro is ipso facto a Communist."

Steve Nelson said to the jury: "This is a thought-control trial where judgment is based on what books are to be read and what books are not to be read. Now what is thought-control? What does it mean? It means you can't read what you want. You can't listen to what you want. You can't say what you want. And if you object, you will be called a 'seditionist'."

Stoolpigeons Thrive on Musmannoism

Having opened the halls of justice to unprincipled politicians and unreasonable rules of evidence, it is only natural that stool-pigeons and labor spies should also be allowed to enter the door. It is now our sad duty to introduce Matt Cvetic, who was used as "expert" witness to interpret Steve Nelson's intentions, just as it was Musmanno's business to interpret the literature.

Cvetic, according to his story, became an informer for the FBI shortly after he was ordered by a court to pay his sister-in-law $300 damages in a case growing out of a midnight assault on the woman while she was a guest in his home. He also broke her wrist.

Concealing this court record, he joined the Communist Party in Pittsburgh. For several years he actively participated in a program supported by the Communists, to unite Slav-Americans behind Roosevelt's win-the-war policies. Secretly, however, Cvetic was sending reports to employers and his FBI superiors on conversations of militant unionists and Pro-Roosevelt members of other organizations, all of whom he indiscriminately called Communists (probably because the more reports he sent, the more pay he got.)

In 1950, when the Communist Party was helping organize strike relief for miners, he revealed himself as a stool-pigeon and made himself available, at $34 a day, as an expert witness on Communist Party intentions. Since none of the activities he observed or engaged in were illegal, he confined his testimony to conversations he claimed he had heard. Now let us go to Steve Nelson's trial record to see how Cvetic fits into this frame-up.

Cvetic had just stated that he received many thousands of dollars for magazine stories and moving picture scripts which he admitted contained outright lies about the Communists. This material was advertised as based on information he supplied. Nelson was questioning him on testimony in a previous trial—for which he was also paid—that he gave about a woman who thereafter lost her job.

NELSON: "Is it true that after you testified in that case her employers decided that your accusations against that woman were unfounded, and reinstated her in her position?"

PROSECUTOR: "This is objected to."

COURT: "Objection sustained."

NELSON: "I think it is important. I want to show this man will appear anywhere and testify against anybody."

COURT: "You have already shown that."

NELSON: "I want to show the way he fingers innocent people for money."
COURT: "You are doing that."
NELSON: "I want to show that this man can get up and testify against anybody for money and that's what he is doing here . . ."
COURT: "He's admitted that."
NELSON: (continuing) "That time and time again he has been repudiated (in other cases where he testified for money)."
COURT: "That doesn't say he is to be repudiated here. . . ."

Jurors Themselves on Trial Make Fair Verdict Impossible

Under normal conditions, of course, a witness like Cvetic *would* be repudiated. In fact, a prosecutor would not dare to go before a jury with testimony from an admitted liar. But in this case, where books and ideas were on trial, the evidence presented had no bearing on the jury's verdict.

The jurors felt that they themselves were on trial. If they returned a verdict other than what the prosecutor demanded, they feared that they themselves would be labeled "Communists", subject to the same persecutions. One of the talesman who was being considered for the jury in the Nelson case asked: "If I should be convinced that Steve Nelson is not guilty, then will I be called a Communist too?" It took courage for him to express the fear that dominated other juror's minds. But, for his courage, he was rejected as a juror by the prosecution.

On the jury for the Steve Nelson case there were seven members who were employed in plants controlled by the Mellon interests. And in a city like Pittsburgh where the Mellons and other big interests control the political and economic life of the people, the economic security of every member of that jury depended either directly or indirectly on those interests.

Federal Smith Act Prosecutions Open Way for Frame-Ups

If the perversion of justice described here were confined to Pittsburgh, we might feel that what we have here is like an ugly little sore on a body that is otherwise healthy, and that in the process of normal living—with perhaps a little extra attention—the condition will return to normal. But the way for this judicial abuse was opened by the Federal government two years earlier—in 1948—when it prosecuted the eleven Communist Party leaders in New York for advocating Roosevelt's policy of friendship with the Soviet Union as against Truman's bi-partisan policy of preparing for war.

Since then, the Federal government has instituted similar prosecutions in other states and in Hawaii, and threatens to spread them until every part of our country would be infested with these frame-ups. Onda, Dolsen and Nelson are now indicted even while they wait for an appeal from their conviction on the Pennsylvania Sedition Act. Three others in the same district arrested by the Federal government are Irving Weissman, Ben Carreathers and William Albertson. Now the six are awaiting trial.

The Federal government uses the Smith Act for framing up its

victims. Of course, the indictments do not say that they are prosecuted for their stand on peace. Instead, they are charged with conspiring to teach the overthrow of the government by force and violence. And the Federal government set the example for the State prosecutors for bolstering this lie. The only proof that is offered to support the charge is that the defendants had ideas and expressed them. The ideas are made unlawful on the basis of books that freely circulate in the public library or that you may have in your home.

Here is what U. S. Supreme Court Justice William Douglas said in an opinion dissenting from the conviction in the first Smith Act trial: "The doctrine of conspiracy has served divers and oppressive purposes and in its broad reach can be made to do great evil. But never until today has anyone seriously thought that the ancient law of conspiracy could constitutionally be used to turn speech into seditious conduct. Yet that is precisely what is suggested. I repeat that we deal here with speech alone, not with speech plus acts of sabotage or unlawful conduct. Not a single act is charged in the indictment."

Besides showing how to trample on the Constitutional right of free speech, the Federal government also set an example to the Pittsburgh prosecutors on the use of witnesses that ordinarily would be thrown out of a courtroom. Thus in the Smith Act trial in New York, the federal prosecutor used the testimony of a stoolpigeon, who, while he was a spy in the Communist Party, convinced his own brother-in-law to become a Communist in good faith—only to report him to the FBI!

Judge Montgomery, vice-president of Americans Battling Communism, who presided over the Steve Nelson case, had a good example, too, for rushing Steve Nelson to trial without benefit of defense counsel. Judge Harold Medina, in the earlier Federal trial in New York, nursed such hatred for the defense attorneys that he sentenced them for contempt of court; and on this, U. S. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black said in a dissenting opinion that Medina's actions "impress me as showing such bitter hostility to the lawyers that the accuser (Medina) should be disqualified to try them."

The conditions surrounding the jury which made it impossible for a fair trial in the Pittsburgh cases operated even more unfairly in the New York federal case. We quote again from Justice Black: ". . . the records show a discriminatory selection of the jury panel which prevented a trial before a representative cross-section of the community; the record shows that one member of the trial jury was violently hostile to petitioners before and during the trial."

Ugly Shadow of Hitlerism

When trials by Musmannos and Cvetics replace due process of law, there is always a danger of government-sponsored lawlessness and violence against the people. Who does not remember the riotous outbreaks against minorities—the inhuman torture of prisoners—that the fascist governments led or encouraged wherever their kangaroo system of justice was established?

The same danger hovers over our own United States. We have mentioned how no attempt was made to arrest a gunman from Americans Battling Communism who invaded Steve Nelson's hospital room. On the other hand, 30 FBI men—yes, thirty—were assigned each day to watch the home in Philadelphia where Nelson was bedridden with

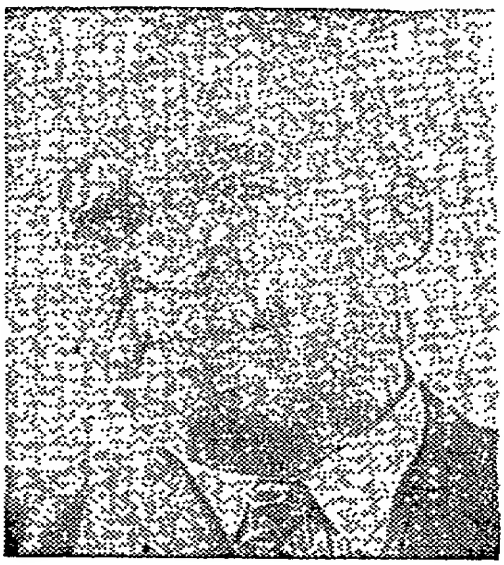
a broken leg, a fractured shoulder and cracked ribs. Since these unconstitutional trials under the Smith Act began, similar hordes of FBI men have been trailing men and women who are outspoken in their opposition to Truman's foreign policy. What a waste of taxpayers money, and much worse, what a frightening resemblance to fascist, police-state thought control!

Warmakers Will Not Crush the Right to Speak for Peace

But observers at the Pittsburgh trials report that people understand, and are fighting back.

For instance, in the early days of the Steve Nelson trial, only a small handful of friends dared to attend. With FBI agents officiously surveying all who entered the court room, and little groups of provocateurs in the corridor insulting anyone whom they did not recognize as their own, there was reason to be afraid, especially since the Pittsburgh newspapers will publicly label you a communist on the mere say-so of stoolpigeons like Matt Cvetic. Yet as word got around that Nelson was defying the frame-up; and was fighting the court's legal hocus-pocus with simple workingclass logic, more and more people came into the courtroom to show their support.

On the day that Ben Careathers testified for him, the court-room was crowded. Mr. Careathers, age 60, a Negro, is a Communist leader of long standing in Western Pennsylvania. In the 1930's, the CIO recognized his popularity among the workers, and made him an organizer for the steel union. One of the six Pittsburgh Smith Act victims scheduled for trial later, he was released from jail only five months ago, where he had been confined for two months until $20,000 bail was raised to free him.



BEN CAREATHERS

On this day, his friends expected to say goodby to him again. For they knew that as soon as he got on the witness stand, the Judge could ask him to give the names of others in the Communist Party; and there was of course no question but what Mr. Careathers would refuse to play a stoolpigeon role. Then he would be cited for contempt, and returned to jail. "A little risk now to defend Steve's right to speak for peace might save us from World War III," he explained.

After Mr. Careathers testified, scores of people rushed up to him in the recess to shake his hand—in clear sight of the FBI men or any Cvetics looking on.

It is encouraging, too, that hundreds of people donated their dollars to pay for the publishing of this pamphlet. It shows that they want to help in the fight for free speech. It does not necessarily mean that they subscribe to the ideas that Steve Nelson and the other Communists hold. It means ony that they know that if Steve Nelson, Andy Onda

and James Dolsen are denied the right to speak for peace, then others—who may have a different idea of how to bring peace, will be denied the right to express their views, too. The Musmannos and Cvetics and Medinas who serve the warmakers will surely be stopped if all of us who cherish the U. S. Constitution will do our part to defend it.

WILLIAM ALBERTSON, one of the Pittsburgh Six indicted under the Smith Act. He was a union organizer for food workers.

Irving Weissman, not pictured here, another Pittsburgh Six victim, is a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade that fought fascism in Spain in the 1930's.

Published by
PENNSYLVANIA COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE PITTSBURGH SIX
205 Hardt Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

- **If you don't like McCarthyism and Musmannoism**
- **If you want to help defend our U. S. Constitution**

Write Us a Letter, or Use the Form Below

PENNSYLVANIA CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS
205 Hardt Building
Philadelphia, Pa.
(National Office: 23 W. 26th Street, New York, N. Y.)

- ☐ I, too, am contributing finances to pay for publication and distribution of more of these pamphlets. Enclosed is $.....
- ☐ I want to join the Civil Rights Congress, the organization at the forefront of the struggle to defend our constitutional and human rights.
- ☐ I would like to order .....copies of this pamphlet at 10c per copy, for which I enclose $.....
- ☐ I am urging President Truman to order dismissal of indictment against all Smith Act victims, and to amnesty those already imprisoned; and am asking Governor John Fine, Harrisburg, Pa., to drop the charges of sedition against Steve Nelson, Andy Onda and James Dolsen.
- ☐ I am urging my Congressman to work for repeal of the Smith Act.
- ☐ I would like to have a representative from your Committee speak to my organization (or group) about the dangers we face from repressive legislation.

(NAME) .....

(ADDRESS) .....

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September 15, 1952
Cleveland, Ohio

MEMO SAC

[redacted] furnished the writer on July 17, 1952 the following items of literature which informant received on July 9, 1952: b7D

1. An 8 page printed leaflet entitled "The Rosenberg Case a fact sheet" published by the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case.

2. A printed booklet captioned "The Law and HARRY BRIDGES" published by the Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee, 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco 2, California. This booklet contains a discussion of the HARRY BRIDGES case beginning with BRIDGES' early union history in the United States and ending with numerous comments on the handling of BRIDGES' trial in San Francisco.

These items will be filed in 66-35 Sub 264 Sub A.

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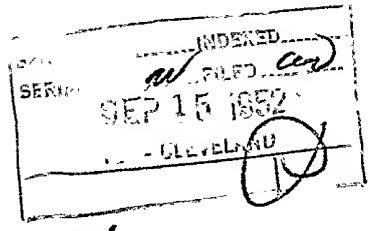

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THE ROSENBERG CASE

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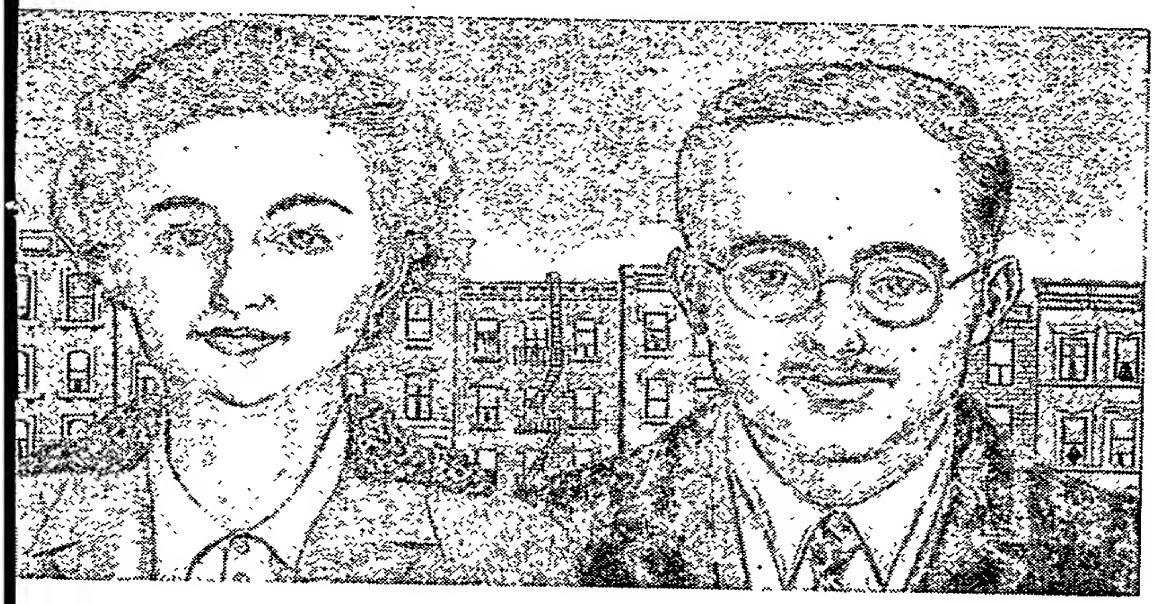
a fact sheet



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246 Fifth Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

CONCLUSIO
THE TAINT OF ANTI-SEMITISM
THE DEATH SENTENCE
AN ARGUMENT FOR FOREIGN POLICY INSTEAD OF EVIDENCE
POLITICS INSTEAD OF EVIDENCE
THE STAR WITNESSES
THE PROSECUTION'S CASE
THE INDICTMENT

On April 5, 1951, Julius Rosenberg and his wife Ethel were sentenced to die in the electric chair, having been convicted on a charge of conspiracy to spy on behalf of the Soviet Union.

The Rosenbergs have unswervingly maintained their innocence from the day of their arrest. When Ethel Rosenberg was taken to the Sing Sing death house, she declared:

"We said and we say again that we are victims of the grossest type of political frame-up ever known in America."

On February 25, 1952, the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the verdict and the sentences in a shocking decision that held, among other things, that persons could be considered disposed to commit espionage by virtue of their political or social views. The defendants' attorneys will appeal the case to the Supreme Court.

Thousands of people, among them many eminent public figures, do not believe the Rosenbergs guilty or that their trial was a fair one. Thousands more, who have grave doubts of their guilt, are horrified at the death sentence.

A number of these citizens have formed the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, and many times their number have contributed money and time to make new appeals possible and to bring the case, with its far-flung implications, to the public.

THE ROSENBERGS

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, until their arrest, led the life of every-day people, struggling for a livelihood and education, and hoping that their two young sons, aged nine and four, would be spared the hardships familiar to the parents.

Julius Rosenberg, 34, was born and raised on the lower East Side of New York City. He attended public school and Seward Park High School as well as the Downtown Talmud Torah and Hebrew High School. He graduated from the City College of New York in 1939 with a Bachelor's Degree in Engineering.

Ethel Rosenberg, 36, graduated from Seward Park High School, and took courses in bookkeeping, stenography, typing, Hebrew, piano, guitar, and voice, and a course in child psychology at the New School for Social Research. They lived in an apartment on the lower East Side for which they paid approximately $45 a month. Since their marriage they lived solely on Julius' $70 a-week income as a government engineer, except for the past few years when they managed a meager living from the profits of a small machine shop business. Julius was an active member of his trade union. Ethel did volunteer work in community and civilian defense organizations.

THE INDICTMENT

The indictment charged the Rosenbergs with initiating a conspiracy during 1944, the last year of the war against nazism, to transmit information "relating to the national defense of the United States" to the Soviet Union.

The prosecutor however, went far beyond the indictment, charged that the

Rosenbergs had given the Soviet Union the "secret" of the atom bomb, and attempted to create the impression that the Rosenbergs were "Communists," holding allegedly "subversive" views, and therefore disposed to commit espionage. He further attempted to impress the jury that a verdict of "innocent" would be tantamount to repudiation of our government's foreign policy.

THE PROSECUTION'S CASE

Before the trial the prosecutor announced that he would call 118 witnesses, among them top scientists Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, Dr. Harold C. Urey; Gen. Leslie R. Groves, head of the atom bomb project during the war; agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; alleged associates of the Rosenbergs in the "conspiracy"; and two "star" witnesses. All witnesses were supposed to give evidence of Rosenberg's alleged spy activities.

Of these 118, the prosecutor called only 20, among them none of the above named scientists or FBI agents. Of the 20, 8 merely gave details of a trip which Sobell took to Mexico, a trip which the prosecutor did not allege to be for espionage purposes: 1 testified to security measures taken at the Los Alamos project; 1 explained a lens mold drawn for the trial by Greenglass; 1 was an engineer who interpreted a sketch and a report concerning the atom bomb submitted by Greenglass; 1 was the Rosenberg family doctor who testified that Rosenberg had asked him questions pertaining to inoculations necessary for a trip to Mexico; 1 was a relative of Ruth Greenglass, who testified that David had given him $4000 to hold for him; 1 was the sister of Ruth Greenglass who testified that she was once asked to leave the room by Julius Rosenberg on a visit to the Greenglass home; 1 was a witness who identified a photograph of Anatoli Yakovlev, a former Soviet consular aide named a co-defendant in the trial, and who had returned to his country in December 1946; 1 was Elizabeth Bentley, who in effect contended that all communists were spies, but had never met any of the defendants; 1 was Harry Gold, who, admitting that he had never known or seen or been involved in any way with the Rosenbergs or Sobell, luridly described his own espionage activities. Of the remaining 3 witnesses, 1 said that Rosenberg had on two occasions made espionage overtures to him, but he had declined each time. This witness, Max Elitcher, admitted that he faced a five year prison sentence for perjury, that he had been threatened by FBI agents with prosecution for espionage, and that he "hoped for the best" as a result of his uncorroborated testimony. He is free today, never having been tried. The remaining two witnesses, David and Ruth Greenglass, were both, according to the prosecutor, and their own statements, involved in the alleged conspiracy, but as a result of their testimony, of which more later, Ruth was never brought to trial, and her husband got off with a 15 year sentence.

The government's entire case is based on the Greenglass's uncorroborated testimony, a fact conceded by the Court of Appeals, which in upholding the convictions declared that without the testimony of the Greenglasses, "the conviction could not stand." The prosecutor produced 32 exhibits as "documentary evidence." Not one of these documents, by the prosecutor's own admission, connected the Rosenbergs with a conspiracy to commit espionage. In fact, only two of the documents had any link whatever to the Rosenbergs.

One was a collection can issued by the Spanish Refugee Appeal, the other was a nominating petition, signed by Ethel, for Peter V. Cacchione, a successful Communist candidate for the City Council of New York.

The prosecutor filled the overwhelming bulk of his case with persistent insinuations that the Rosenbergs were Communists, that U. S. monopoly of the atom bomb was important to world peace, and that war with the Soviet Union was virtually inevitable.

THE STAR WITNESSES

David Greenglass, brother of Ethel Rosenberg, and his wife Ruth, were the star witnesses against the Rosenbergs. Both admitted that they had committed espionage for which they received money and for which both could be given the death penalty.

David Greenglass was arrested in June and indicted in July 1950. He was held in $100,000 bail, placed in solitary confinement, and visited for hours at a time by the FBI.

He and Ruth hired O. John Rogge, who himself later became a star government witness against the eminent Negro scholar Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in a case charging Dr. DuBois with being a foreign agent (the judge threw the case out of court). After extended negotiations by the Greenglasses, Rogge, Prosecutor Irving Saypol and agents of the Department of Justice, The FBI arrested Julius Rosenberg and later his wife Ethel solely on the basis of "information" given by the Greenglasses.

The Greenglass' uncorroborated testimony was the only evidence presented that the Rosenbergs had conspired to steal the atom-bomb secret. Their testimony in respect to the Rosenbergs was solely oral, and no documents or other proofs linking the Rosenbergs to espionage were introduced. No witnesses were called to substantiate any conversations on espionage that allegedly took place between the Greenglasses and the Rosenbergs. David Greenglass testified that relying solely on his memory of snatches of overheard conversation at the atom-bomb project at Los Alamos, and his remembrance of details of blueprints which had been shown to him as part of his work as a machinist, he had drawn up an elaborate sketch of the atom bomb, together with twelve pages of written material, which he allegedly conveyed as a description of the bomb to Rosenberg.

The following are Greenglass' actual qualifications for this impressive feat:

1) experience as an ordinary machinist in both army and civilian life;

2) a high school education, plus 8 technical courses at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, in all 8 of which he admitted he was graded "failure";

3) an admission that he was ignorant of the formulae governing component parts of the atom bomb, and that he had never taken courses or read books on such essential subjects as elementary, differential or advanced calculus, thermodynamics, quantum mechanics, nuclear or atomic physics.

Not a single atomic scientist was called to support David Greenglass' testimony concerning the atom bomb or to confirm the authenticity of the "sketch" of the atom bomb he made for the trial. Instead, John Derry, assigned as a First Lieutenant, an aide to General Groves, whose job in the Army was

mainly related to personnel, was called upon to testify that the manufactured sketch reflected to a "substantial degree" the principles of the atom bomb. Derry's sole "qualification" was a Bachelor of Engineering degree.

Had Dr. Harold C. Urey been called by the prosecutor, as the latter had announced he would do, Dr. Urey could have demolished Greenglass' testimony by repeating what he had said on March 3, 1946, during Congressional hearings on whether the atom bomb should be controlled by civilians or the Army. The N. Y. Times reports him as saying: *"Detailed data on the atomic bomb, he declared, would require '80 to 90 volumes of close print' which only a scientist or engineer would be able to read . . . . Any spies capable of picking up this information,' Dr. Urey added, 'will get information more rapidly by staying at home and working in their own laboratories.'"*

Responsible periodicals and science editors commented as follows on Greenglass' testimony:

TIME MAGAZINE: "Some of his testimony made little scientific sense."

LIFE MAGAZINE'S Science Editor: "Greenglass' implosion bomb appears illogical, if not downright unworkable."

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN: "History's most elaborately guarded secret—how to make an atomic bomb—was casually let out of the bag in a courtroom last month. Or was it?"

POLITICS INSTEAD OF EVIDENCE

The prosecutor set out to show that the defendants were Communists and that Communists are spies. This had nothing to do with either the indictment or proof that the Rosenbergs had conspired to commit espionage. The prosecutor said that the Rosenbergs had allegedly committed this crime because their loyalty was to "communism in this country and communism throughout the world." But he did not establish that the Rosenbergs were Communists. Instead, he showed:

1) the Rosenbergs had a Spanish Refugee appeal can in their home;

2) Ethel Rosenberg was one of 50,000 New York citizens who had signed a nominating petition in 1941 for Peter V. Cacchione, successful Communist Party candidate for New York City Councilman;

3) the Rosenbergs carried sick and death benefit insurance with the International Workers Order, a multi-national, inter-racial fraternal insurance society with 160,000 members in 18 states;

4) the Rosenbergs were both active members of their trade unions; Ethel in Local 65 of the Wholesale, Retail and Warehouse Workers Union; Julius in the Federation of Architects, Engineers and Technicians;

5) the Rosenbergs occasionally read the Daily Worker;

6) the Rosenbergs believed that the Soviet Union had borne the brunt of the war against Nazi Germany, and that it had done its share in wiping out the murderers of 6 million Jews;

7) the Rosenbergs had been pleased and lauded the United States and Great Britain for opening up a second front;

8) Julius Rosenberg had once been accused of being a Communist, for which he had been fired from the Signal Corps, although he had sworn that he was not a Communist.

AN ARGUMENT FOR FOREIGN POLICY INSTEAD OF EVIDENCE

The prosecutor argued that the atom bomb was "the one weapon that might well hold the key to the survival of this nation." He argued that the United States had made every effort to keep the principles of the atom bomb a secret, and insinuated that since the Soviet Union was by then known to have the bomb, the Rosenbergs must be guilty of having conspired to transmit its secret to that country.

Leaving aside the absurdity of this kind of "proof" against the Rosenbergs, all recognized authorities deny the possibility of atom-bomb monopoly and atom-bomb "secrets." This is what these authorities say:

ATOMICS, a monthly scientific magazine, September 1949: "Since the discovery of uranium fission in 1938 there has been no basic secret regarding an atomic bomb."

SMYTH REPORT, official report of the U. S. government on atomic energy development, published in 1945: ". . . the principles that have been used were well known to the international scientific world in 1940."

INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE, December, 1950, in a story datelined Washington, D. C.: "The Atomic Energy Commission Friday bared secret documentary proof that Russia has known the scientific secrets of atom bomb manufacture since 1940, the year the United States began attempts to develop the missile."

DR. J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER, in a speech in January, 1951, said, according to the N. Y. Times: ". . . that there were no 'unpublished' secrets concerning atomic weapons, and no 'secret laws of nature' available only to a few."

NEW YORK TIMES, Feb. 24, 1952: "The British development of an atom bomb confirmed what had been apparent when the Russians exploded their bomb in 1949—that the secret of the atom bomb was not a secret, that any nation with the resources could construct one, but only big and wealthy nations could afford this kind of armament."

THE DEATH SENTENCE

In imposing the death sentence against Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, Judge Irving Kaufman said that they had "altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country . . . we have evidence of your treachery around us every day . . . I believe your conduct has already caused, in my opinion, the Communist aggression in Korea, with resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason."

From the Judge's comments, it appears that he sentenced the Rosenbergs to death for crimes with which they were not at all charged. They were neither accused of treason nor was any evidence brought in linking them in any way to the instigation of any wars, past, present, or future. But the Judge's comments, and the death sentence, like the jury's verdict, is in line with the

prosecution's inability to bring in convincing proof that the Rosenbergs conspired to commit espionage, substituting, instead, inflammatory and reckless charges that had nothing to do with the case.

It is unthinkable that the same verdict and the same sentence would have been given had these wild accusations formed the basis of a "case" during the war years (when the USSR was our ally), when the alleged conspiracy was supposed to have taken place, or even in the first years following the end of the war.

Further, we can compare the sentences given to confessed or convicted traitors and saboteurs such as Axis Sally and Tokyo Rose, who got ten years each, and the famous Molzahn case in which four men who gave vital secrets to Germany in the Fall of 1941 were let off with 5 to 15 year sentences.

Finally, this is the first time in the history of our country that a civil court has imposed the death sentence for a charge of espionage. No person committing treason, the gravest of all crimes, has ever been executed.

THE TAINT OF ANTI-SEMITISM

Shortly after the trial was over the prosecutor, although Jewish, was severely reprimanded by a United States Court of Appeals for practicing anti-Semitism in another case. This grave charge is bolstered by the fact that the Rosenberg trial, in a city whose population is one-third Jewish, proceeded without a single Jewish juror due to challenges by the prosecution.

Here are comments from the Jewish press:

THE DAY: "The death sentence imposed by Judge Kaufman left the feeling that precisely because he is a Jew did he go to an extreme and deal judgment with a heavy hand . . . that Judge Kaufman is a Jew has perhaps unconsciously motivated him to issue a sentence which, in the opinion of many, is considered to be unjust and brutal."

DAILY FORWARD: "Too horrible . . . every Jew feels the same way."

CHICAGO SENTINEL, an Anglo-Jewish paper, in a column on Feb. 7, 1952 by Rabbi G. George Fox, one of the most widely known Rabbis in the mid-west, an eminent scholar and author: "I am certain that Judge Kaufman's decision will be found unjust, if not illegal."

CONCLUSIONS

1) The Rosenbergs were convicted on unsubstantial and incredible evidence.
2) The prosecution prejudiced and inflamed the jury by bringing in extraneous issues in every phase of the trial.
3) The suspicion of anti-Semitism taints the entire trial.

When it is borne in mind that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were ordinary folk like the vast majority of us, that they were not leaders of any political or social or economic movements, it becomes clear that a new danger faces this vast majority, the danger that past or present or future views on social issues may become the basis for wild accusations, imprisonment, and even death. That is why it is in the interest of all Americans, regardless of their beliefs and creeds, to make certain that justice is done in the Rosenberg Case.

FOR JUSTICE

WRITE to President Truman and Attorney General J. Howard McGrath. Tell them what you think. Ask that the government consent to a reversal of the Rosenberg conviction, thus permitting a new trial or discontinuance of their prosecution.

URGE your Senators and Congressmen to make the foregoing request to the White House and the Department of Justice.

WRITE the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case for more information. We will send you our new 32-page pamphlet "TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE," by William A. Reuben, which tells the whole story. Ask for as many as you can possibly circulate. *Send us a financial contribution*—big or little. We need help. *Use* the form below.

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE
246 Fifth Avenue, New York 1, N. Y. *MUrray Hill 4-7140*

I want to receive your material. I enclose $.....to help. Please send me.....copies of the pamphlet on the Rosenberg case, and..... copies of the fact sheet.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

Pamphlets.....5¢ single copies, $4.00 per 100, $15 per 500
Fact Sheet.....3¢ single copies, $2.50 per 100, $8 per 500

264

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-04-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio
September 16, 1952

MEMO SAC

[redacted] furnished the writer on August 4, 1952 a two page mimeographed bulletin issued by the Ohio Bill of Rights Conference received by the informant on August 1, 1952. b7D

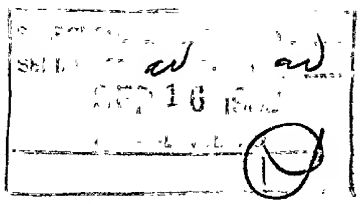
This bulletin carries articles concerning the Un-American Activities Committee in Ohio and the NATHANIEL WOODEN case; it being noted NATHANIEL WOODEN, a negro, was beaten by a hoodlum mob in the Mayfield area of Cleveland and the Civil Rights Congress is attempting to defend WOODEN.

This item will be placed in 66-35 Sub 264 sub A.

[redacted] b6 b7C
SA.

PMB:eaf
66-35 Sub 264 Sub A

CC: 100-17087
100-17261



66-35 Sub 264 SA-209

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8-1-52

JHB.

8/4/52

Ohio Bill of Rights Conference BULLETIN

August 1, 1952
Published by Ohio Bill of Rights Conference, 5103 Euclid Avenue, EXPRESS 1-9486

PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE SCORES VICTORY IN WOODEN CASE!!!

Early in the morning on July 6th, Mr. Nathaniel Wooden was brutally beaten by an anti-Negro, hoodlum mob in the vicinity of the Golden Bowl Restaurant on Mayfield Road in the Murray Hill section of Cleveland. Mr. Wooden had gone to this restaurant to pick up a worker who had just finished her job for the night as dishwasher. The lynching-bent mob broke the victim's jaw, fractured his ribs, injured him internally and left him lying in the gutter in semi-consciousness. The owner of the restaurant refused to permit the woman worker to phone the police. Later when the police were finally reached, they declined to return to the area of the beating to investigate on the grounds that they might be beaten also.

A citizens' committee was quickly formed at a meeting at the church of Mr. Wooden's pastor. Neighbors and friends of Mr. Wooden, the NAACP, the Bill of Rights Conference, the Progressive Party, trade unionists, ministers joined hands in setting up the committee. A few days later, a delegation of 21 people went to City Hall to demand the immediate investigation and jailing of the hoodlums from Mayor Burke. Miss Carrie Butler graphically presented the facts of the case to Burke. Frieda Katz of the Bill of Rights Conference, trade unionist Fred Gardner joined others in demanding payment of Wooden's medical expenses, open hearings on this case and on police brutality cases. The Mayor agreed to look into the case at once and asked the delegation to come back and meet with him the following morning.

As a result of the delegation's work, the leader of the hoodlum gang, Dominic Celico, was arrested and brought to trial. In addition, the Mayor guaranteed Wooden his old job back on recovery, or a new job.

At the trial, the judge attempted to charge Celico with a misdemeanor and set him free on $200.00 bail. (It is interesting to note that recently a man arrested for deportation by the Immigration Department as part of their program for the terrorization of the foreign born had bail set at $4,000.00.) Mr. Wooden's attorney fought for and won the right to have the hoodlum tried for an act of felony. Trial is set for August 4th and efforts are being made to arrest the rest of the gang.

****

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS ANNOUNCES VICTORY IN OSCAR SMILACK CASE

Oscar Smilack, a Columbus businessman was arraigned before the Ohio Un-American Committee. Smilack was faced with ten contempt citations because he refused to become a stoolpigeon for the committee and name Columbus fighters for peace.

At the suggestion of the prosecutor, Judge King ordered Smilack sent to Lima State Hospital for the Criminal Insane. He was rushed out of court over protests of his attorneys, unable to say goodby to his family. A mass campaign of protest by CRC, trade unions, legal action by attorneys and the American Civil Liberties Union, secured habeas corpus release of Smilack and a court reversal.

REPORT FROM CRC BOARD

NATIONAL BOARD MEETING
CHICAGO, JULY 2nd

Civil Rights Congress Board will launch a new campaign to repeal the Smith Act and develop the fullest unity of white workers and the Negro people in this fight. 50,000 leaflets will be issued in Ohio for Smith Act repeal with special emphasis in appeals to labor, the Negro people and the Jewish Community. Also, a national petition for 50,000 signatures for repeal of Smith Act directed to Congressmen and candidates for political office. Mass rallies and radio programs will be organized for the repeal campaign.

A drive was opened for additional sale of 100,000 copies of "We Charge Genocide" the CRC petition to the United Nations.

The new Smith Act campaign coupled with a demand for amnesty of Smith Act victims will be boldly injected into the election campaigns in the Congressional districts and will culminate in a national Civil Rights Conference to be held in January.

In other actions, the Board demanded of Governor Fine of Pennsylvania that he grant full amnesty immediately to Steve Nelson, recently sentenced to 20 years in prison under the Sedition Act of Penn. for speaking out for peace and civil rights.

The Board further underscored its campaigns for the freedom of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

****

UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE STOPPED IN CINCY

The witch hunt planned by the Ohio Un-American Committee in Cincinnati fell to pieces thanks to the exposure of the committee and pressure by the decent-minded citizens of Ohio. The Committee had already held illegal sessions in a few Ohio cities and had planned to extend them in an effort to smear and jail more progressives. With the exposure of the Committee and its illegal operation, the people forced it to close shop in Cincy. CRC thanks its friends who helped in the job.

JUSTICE IN THE DAVIS CASE

On April 10th, Stanford and Henry Davis were on their way home from a choir rehearsal. On the way, Henry Davis, a World War II veteran became ill, the result of a war incurred malady. His brothers were called and were escorting him home when they were accosted by Cleveland police who stated that the brothers were drunk and proceeded to beat them on the street.

They were beaten again at the police station. The two brothers were then sentenced to 10 days and 70 days in the workhouse plus fines on charges of assault and battery and resisting arrest.

An appeal for a new trial (to exonerate the brothers from the kangeroo court style sentencing) is under way and a civil suit is being launched against five Cleveland policemen responsible for the brutality. While the civil suit for damages is under way, a campaign is also being undertaken to demand criminal action against the five police by the Federal Grand Jury. One of the police, Wayne Neal, already demoted from sergeant, is under investigation because of alleged unsavory activities while working on the Narcotics Squad.

****

WIRE OR WRITE GOVERNOR FRANK LAUSCHE TO ABOLISH OHIO UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMISSION

****

JOIN THE CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS---WRITE US FOR MORE INFORMATION---SEND US THE NAMES OF YOUR FRIENDS FOR OUR MAILING LIST---SEND US A CONTRIBUTION TO HELP US CONTINUE AND EXTEND OUR WORK IN OHIO

****

Ohio Bill of Rights Conference and American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born

Picnic

SUNDAY, AUGUST 17th , 12:00 NOON ON HANDLIR'S, 16613 Glenpark Road near Miles and Lee Roads

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Cleveland, Ohio
September 15, 1952

MEMO SAC

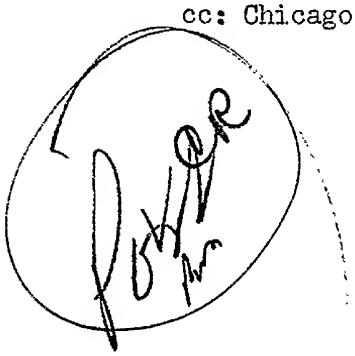
100-19379	THOMAS, GEORGIA	100-11826	KREITNER, MORRIS
100-20116	BILES, SUE	100-9759	MAGEDOVITZ, ANN
100-20042	DECKER, ROBERT	100-17357	BALTIC, NICK
100-18776	DENNIS, MYRTLE	100-17033	KREITNER, FREEDS SMITH
100-10263	DENNIS, RAY	100-19971	MCMILLAN, JAMES
100-19086	DELACY, HESTER	100-18972	MITCHELL, MEL
100-18392	DELACY, HUGH	100-18923	MITCHELL, HORTENSE
100-2262	HABER, JOSEPH	100-20092	NIKOS, MARY
100-9265	HABER, WILLIAM	100-11460	OVCHAR, CAROLINE
100-8504	HALAMEK, ANTON	100-19938	RENE, ETHEL
100-13507	HAUG, FRED	100-19797	ROBERTS, SARAH
100-13371	HAUG, MARIE	100-18406	ROTHENBERG, DON
100-17902	REINTHALER,	100-8850	TURNER, MARY
100-20534	BLUMENFELD, ANITA	100-15197	WHERRY, MARGARET
65-563	BORTELL, PHIL.	100-20421	YOUNG, EDDIE
100-3229	BORTELL, SOPHIA	100-18760	PROGRESSIVE PARTY
100-20393	BRENT, AL	100-17261	NEGRO
100-56	KILPATRICK, ADMIRIAL	100-11731	TAYLOR, PAULINE

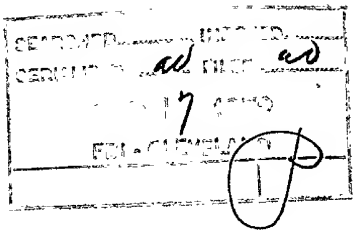
The following is the verbatim report of [redacted] dated 8-8-52 b6
received by SA [redacted] on 9-8-52. The original memo will be b7C
found as serial 210 of 66-35 Sub 264 SA. b7D

PMB:AES 168
66-35 Sub 264-SA

cc: Birmingham Encl. 2
Cincinnati " 2
Detroit " 2
Minneapolis " 2
New York " 2
Los Angeles " 2
San Francisco 2

cc: Chicago Encl. 2





66-35 Sub 264 SA-210

MEMO, SAC

" Cleveland, Ohio.
August 8th 1952.

" On July 4th, 5th, & 6th, in Chicago, Illinois the Progressive Party of Cleveland held its National Convention, and to announce the President & Vice-President canidate of the Progressives, namely Vincent H allanan, and Charlotta Bass.

There were thirty-two people who went by train, among those recognized were Ethel Renee, Joe Haber, Sarah Roberts, Hop Ort, Julia Brown, Margaret Wherry, Nick Baltic, James McMillan, Bob Decker, Joe Petraus, Anathony Halamek, Ann Magetovitz, others from Cleveland who went by train or bus were, Hugh & Hester DeLacy, Don Rothenberg, Lee Morgan, Sue Biles, Bill Haber, Mary Nickor, Fred & Marie Hauge, Myrtle & Ray Dennis, Mel & Hortense Mitchell, Freda & Morris Krietner, Eddie Younge, Mary Turner, A. Kilpatrick, Albernt Brent, Caroline Ovchar, Georgia Thomas, Sophia & Phil Bartell, Eric Reinthaler, Anita Blumenfield, Pauline Taylor from Youngstown, Ohio. From New York City were WILLIAM Patterson, Paul Roberson, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Elizabeth Girlie Flynn, Angie Dickerson, Thelma Dale, Mrs Robeson, Vito Marcantonio, who was chairman, Shirley Graham, from Alabama & New York wea Henry Moss, Rev. Charles Hill from Michigan.

From Minesota was a whit woman Irene Hall, from Kentucky a negro woman Ceasa Bell, from California was a Mary Childs, from Detroit Michigan was Ex-Senator Stanley Novark, Ray Cox from California a John Marshall from Latonia, Ohio.

On Saturday July 5, Don Rothenberg introduced Ascar Smilak, and asked the people to here what Oscar had to say about how he was railroaded to prison and then to the insane asylum, Oscar told the people that the negroes were being treated terrible, much worse than the whites, and that they get very little to eat, and were beaten all the time for little or nothing.

Vivan Hallinan spoke and said the women were no longer content to say in their homes, because the homes were no longer safe. Butch Hallinan spoke and praised his father and said if his father had not faught hard for Harry Bridges he would not be in prison, Butch said the younger generation would not give up the battle, and that they were more militant and more sure of success.

Dr. DUBOIS spoke, and protested Paul Robeson being unable to leave the United States, and if the people wanted war, Elect Eisenhower because he was trained for war, and war was all Eisenhower knew. Paul Robeson spoke, and said the American people were ready to fight, because he had reached close to a 100,000 people on his tour.

MEMO SAC

Charlotta Bass said there was no future for the negro people in the Republic Party, Charlotta said Wendell Wilkie stood for one world. Charlotta also stated that she had walked the picket lines for the right of all men and women, she also had defended Mexican-American boys from the clubs of police, She said in 1948 the Progressive Party was born, and in the first time in her life, she saw a party that provided a home big enough for negro and white, she said fascism had been wiped out abroad, but had taken root in this country.

Mary Turner spoke and asked all negro women to join hands and fight for the deliberation of all negroes, and their white sisters and brothers."

Care should be used in disseminating the above information to paraphrase it so as not to reveal the identity of the informant.

[redacted]
SA

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C. G. Ewell

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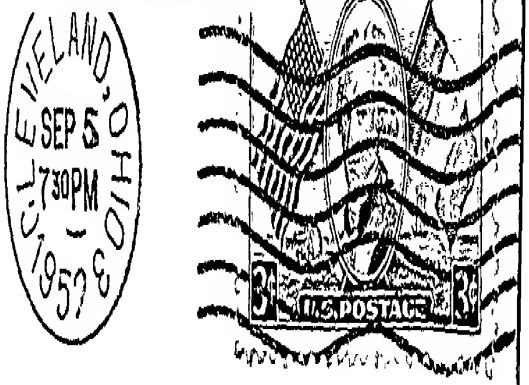

Johnson S. Youngster,

P.O.Box 2268,

Brooklyn Station,

Cleveland 9, Ohio.

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1. 89 page printed pamphlet entitled "Get On Board the Freedom Train" furnished to SA [redacted] on 12-3-52 by [redacted]

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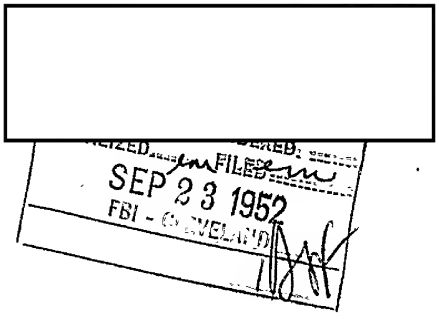

Rec 7-8-52

The LAW and Harry Bridges

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Published by the BRIDGES-ROBERTSON-SCHMIDT DEFENSE COMMITTEE
150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco 2, California, U.S.A.
February 1952
12
(Printed in the U.S.A.)

The LAW and Harry Bridges

ON March 18, 1952, the case of Harry Bridges will be argued before the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco.

The leader of the International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, the first vice-president J. R. Robertson and Henry Schmidt, executive board member of the union, will be appealing their convictions on charges of conspiracy and perjury, carrying prison sentences of five, two and two years, respectively.

For Harry Bridges this appeal involves the additional threat of deportation and it marks the fourth time in eighteen years that he has been in jeopardy of loss of liberty.

The trial that resulted in these convictions lasted four and a half months—from November 14, 1949, to April 4, 1950. It was a direct outcome of Bridges' attaining American citizenship in 1945, after he had received a clean bill of health from the United States Supreme Court.

In every instance (and there were three earlier processes) Bridges had been charged with the same "crime"—membership in the Communist Party. In every previous instance he had been cleared.

There follows a history of the law and Harry Bridges. It will convince the reader that Bridges' attorneys state no more than the truth when, in the current appeal, they say this prosecution is " . . . unique in the annals of American legal history . . . (which) if permitted to succeed will make a mockery of the proud boast that ours is a government of laws and not of men."

It will explain why the late Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Frank Murphy, felt impelled to write this now classical opinion:

> *"The record in this case will stand forever as a monument to man's intolerance of man. Seldom if ever in the history of this nation has there been such a concentrated and relentless crusade to deport an individual because he dared to exercise the freedom that belongs to him as a human being and that is guaranteed him by the Constitution."*

The history of this case will reveal the activities which prompted Judge William Healy of the Ninth Circuit Court to charge in 1950 that officials have " . . . prostituted themselves . . . and have become tools of military expediency."

Proof will be offered in these pages that no man in American history has suffered so many violations of his legal rights under the Constitution as has this defendant, Harry Bridges. Proof will be offered that the eighteen years of persecution have been visited upon this man solely because of his militant trade union activities.

"Equal Justice Under Law" are the words carved into the facade of the United States Supreme Court building in Washington. The history of this case will expose to exactly what degree that slogan has been perverted, adulterated and nullified.

So long as the Bridges case remains a blot upon American legal tradition, so long will every American freedom be in danger.

A Union Is Born

HARRY BRIDGES has been in the United States for thirty-two years. He came from Australia as a seaman at the age of twenty, in 1920. He worked as a sailor (he has an honorable discharge from the U. S. Coast & Geodetic Survey), then as a longshoreman on the docks of San Francisco, the city he calls home.

For the first fourteen years of his life here, he lived in obscurity, one of a group of longshoremen who worked hard when there was work, trying to make ends meet. He was one of thousands on the waterfront who became increasingly discontented with the hardships and danger of the work; with the graft and kick-backs and gangsterism; with low wages and miserable working conditions and the slave-market character of the "shape-up", the hiring of men from the docks, with its attendant insecurity and lack of human dignity.

Recent events on the docks of New York, where there was a rebellion by rank and file longshoremen, brings past history sharply into focus. It was just such conditions as still exist on the East Coast under Joe Ryan's International Longshoremen's Association that led to the 1934 San Francisco strike, from which Harry Bridges emerged as a leader. Even today the difference between these two unions is dramatically clear. The shape-up still exists in New York, with gangsters taking a slice of each man's wages. On the West Coast men are

hired through a hiring hall, with equal distribution of work and wages and without favoritism or discrimination because of race, color or creed. On the West Coast there are job security, speed and safety regulations, an excellent health and welfare plan and one of the best workers' pension plans in America. On the East Coast there is no job security, the employer can fire at will, militant workers are blacklisted, advancement comes through graft or favoritism, and there are no union participation in health and welfare, no minimum wage guarantees. As for wages, the figures tell the story: Average yearly wage, ILWU: $5200; ILA: $1700.

For fourteen years Harry Bridges worked on the docks and no agency of Government tried to deport him, no money was spent spying on him, no newspapers libeled him, no prosecutors tried to dig into every facet of his mind and ferret out every political, social or economic view he might hold.

In 1934 Bridges emerged as the leader of the historic West Coast maritime strike, which broke the back of the super-exploitation of longshoremen and was a great incentive to the massive trade union organizing drives that swept that coast in the middle 1930's.

From that day in 1934 Harry Bridges has been the victim of more violations of the Constitution, the law and the traditions of our land than any other man in American history.

"Get Bridges"—1934 . . . 1939

IN 1934, shortly after the big strike, the first "get Bridges" deportation hearing was held. He was investigated by the San Francisco Police Department as well as by the Federal Immigration Service—and cleared of the charge of membership in the Communist Party.

A 1936 Labor Department memorandum said: "In short, whenever any legal ground for the deportation of Bridges has been brought to the attention of the Department of Labor, it has been investigated, but, invariably it has been found that he was in the clear and that his status as an immigrant was entirely clear."

The San Francisco police even got in touch with the Melbourne, Australia, police, only to find " . . . the Melbourne Police had no record of Bridges."

One would have thought these first investigations were thorough enough to have ended any further attempts to deport the man. But the "get Bridges" forces apparently had the illusion that if they could deport him somehow they could slow down the march of labor, stifle the vast changes taking place.

Years later, the classical concurring opinion of Justice Frank Murphy recalled the significance of this campaign:

> *"For more than a decade powerful ecomonic and social forces have combined with public and private agencies to seek the deportation of Harry Bridges. . . . Bridges incurred the hatred and hostility of those whose interests coincided directly or indirectly with the vicious and inhumane practices toward longshoremen that Bridges was combating."* Those "interests" Murphy described as *"Industrial and farming organizations (Associated Farmers of California), veterans' groups, city police departments and private undercover organizations all joined in an unremitting effort to deport him . . . "*

Again in 1936, the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization testified before a House Committee: "The situation with reference to Bridges is this: He has a perfect legal right to be in this country. The San Francisco police followed him unremittingly for years, and our men have also. . . . The facts are that there is no shred of evidence in our files . . . or police files . . . to indicate that he is in any way subject to the provisions of the immigration law because of his radical views."

In 1937 Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, under intense pressure, put Bridges under oath. As a result of this investigation, the Secretary decided no action was required.

The pressure mounted. A resolution was introduced in Congress to impeach Secretary Perkins. Reacting to this pressure, the Secretary finally issued a warrant for Bridges' deportation on the grounds that he was and had been a member of the Communist Party. Hearings were held by James Landis, distinguished Dean of Harvard Law School and former Chairman of the Securities & Exchange Commission.

The Landis Hearing: 1939

THE Landis hearing was held on Angel Island in San Francisco Bay. It lasted eleven weeks. Seven thousand, seven hundred and twenty-four pages of testimony were taken. Two hundred and seventy-four documentary exhibits were received in evidence. (*Not one exhibit was a documented proof of membership in the Communist Party.*)

The "antagonistic interests" took heart. With so much testimony, with so much evidence, with the government working so hard at it, they were sure they could get Bridges. The president of the Waterfront Employers Association, Frank Foisie, said: "The only thing that would do any good is for Harry Bridges and his crowd to be discredited. Thank God, that day seems to be approaching."

On December 28, 1939, Dean Landis released his "Findings and Conclusions." One hundred and fifty-two pages of careful analysis brought this verdict: "*The evidence therefore establishes neither that Harry Bridges is a member of nor affiliated with the Communist Party of America.*"

The Department of Labor accepted Dean Landis' findings and the warrant of arrest was canceled.

The Landis hearing will long be remembered. At tremendous cost to the taxpayer, every act in Bridges' life was screened. Sixty witnesses were heard and the Government for the first time paraded the type of witness who was to set a pattern as the years rolled on and the prosecution of Bridges intensified.

It was Landis who first scorched the Government's witnesses with such characterizations as: " . . . a problem in contumacy;" "false testimony;" "a self-confessed liar;" "on occasion he lied . . . ;" "prejudiced, intemperate, overbearing;" "falsification;" "impossible to separate truth from fiction;" "corrupt . . . repudiated . . . truth matters little (to him);" "pathological."

In scholarly terms Landis described Bridges as a man driven by his passionate belief in rank and file trade unionism and democratic union policies:

"There is no doubt but that Bridges had at that time, and has since, friends and associates who are Communists. At no time was he hesitant to admit these associations nor to deny that on occasion he had sought the help of the Democratic and Republican parties, as allies in the industrial and political struggles in which his unions were involved."

Of Bridges' testimony before him, Landis wrote: *"Bridges' own statement of his political beliefs and disbeliefs is important. It was given not only without reserve but vigorously as dogma and faiths of which the man was proud and which represented in his mind the aims of his existence. It was a fighting apologia that refused to temper itself to the winds of caution. . . . That Bridges' aims are energetically radical may be admitted, but the proof fails to establish that the methods he seeks to employ to realize them are other than those that the framework of democratic and constitutional government permits."*

With the Landis opinion, it was believed the years of hounding had reached an end. Yet six months later a remarkable event took place.

Bill of Attainder

JUSTICE MURPHY commented drily: "A clean bill of health was given (Bridges) . . . by Dean Landis. This only led to demands that the deportation laws be changed to make sure that Bridges was exiled."

On June 13, 1940, the House of Representatives passed the Allen Bill, HR 9766. For the first time in American history the House passed a bill whose sole purpose was the deportation of an individual, without trial or hearing " . . . notwithstanding any other provision of the law" to take into custody and deport Harry Bridges, "whose presence in this country the Congress deems hurtful."

Attorney General (now Justice) Robert Jackson denounced the Allen Bill as inconsistent with American practice and one hundred fifty years of judicial tradition of due process of law: "It would be the first time that an Act of Congress has singled out a named individual for deportation. This same alien has been accused, investigated and tried at great length . . . and has not been proven guilty of the charges made against him. By this bill the United States would deny faith and credit to its own duly con-

ducted legal proceedings . . . "

The Allen Bill died in a Senate Committee. But the drive to deport Bridges did not die.

"It Is My Joy"

FIFTEEN days after the Allen Bill died Congress passed the Hobbs Bill, not naming Bridges but designed to deport him. The Hobbs Bill amended the deportation law by enacting Section 23 of the Alien Registration Act of 1940. This amendment stipulated that an alien could be deported if at the time he entered the United States, or any time thereafter, he was a member of or affiliated with an organization advocating the forceful overthrow of the Government.

This was clearly an "ex post facto" law—a violation of a basic tenet of the Constitution. Two years before the Bill of Rights was adopted, the framers of the Constitution wrote: " . . . *no bill or attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.*"

The Congressional Record quotes Congressman Hobbs of Georgia:

"It is my joy to announce that this bill will do, in a perfectly legal and constitutional manner, what the bill specifically aimed at the deportation of Harry Bridges seeks to accomplish. This bill changes the law so that the Department of Justice should now have little trouble in deporting Harry Bridges and all others of similar ilk."

Based on this bill, a new warrant of deportation was issued and a new trial commenced before another special examiner, Judge Charles Sears. The new warrant was identical with the first, except for the wording. This one said Bridges "has been" instead of "was and is" a Communist.

The Sears Hearing

ON MARCH 31, 1941, the hearing began. Seven thousand five hundred and forty-six pages of testimony were taken (7,724 before Landis). The Government brought thirty-three witnesses (as against thirty-two before

Landis).

Regarding this hearing CIO President Philip Murray said: "On this occasion the same kind of wholly prejudicial evidence out of the mouths of biased witnesses, stoolpigeons and perjurers was offered."

Judge Sears was compelled to reject all but two of the Government's witnesses. He accepted the testimony of Harry Lundeberg, leader of a rival union and an avowed enemy of Bridges. Lundeberg admitted he was "strongly biased" against Bridges and "felt the trade union movement would be better off without him."

Significantly, Lundeberg had informed government agents on many earlier occasions that he had no information against Bridges, but his story grew and grew with successive days on the witness stand.

Judge Sears also accepted the testimony of FBI agents that a man named O'Neil told them he saw Bridges with a Communist Party book. O'Neil denied this on the witness stand. Despite the fact that he rejected everything else presented by the Government and was compelled to recognize evidence of illegal wiretapping, Judge Sears recommended that Bridges be deported.

Two years later, Judge Healy of the Ninth Circuit Court wrote: "The evidence produced before Judge Sears would be condemned and proscribed without hesitation by any American court."

Bridges vs. Biddle

SEARS' recommendation was reviewed as was customary, by the Board of Immigration Appeals.

The four-man board unanimously overruled the Sears decision with this carefully considered opinion:

"It is our unanimous opinion that the warrant must be cancelled. . . . Our study and analysis of the record requires us to find that membership in or affiliation with the Communist Party has not been established. . . . We have rejected the evidence given by O'Neil and Lundeberg as not worthy of belief. . . .

"Conclusion: We find therefore that the evidence in this record does not establish that Harry Renton Bridges was at any time a member of or affiliated with any organization proscribed by statute."

On May 28, 1942, Attorney General Biddle overruled his own Immigration Appeals Board. (This had never happened before in our history.) Furthermore, Biddle did not give notice that he had taken the case over and did not afford Bridges an opportunity to prepare argument or a defense. A petition to be heard before Biddle was denied by him.

The appeal was then carried to the United States District Court. Federal Judge Martin I. Welsh denied the appeal but eliminated all prosecution witnesses except Lundeberg.

Court of Appeal

ON MARCH 3, 1943, the case was carried to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals.

On June 26, 1944, the Circuit Court by a vote of 3-2 upheld the ruling of the Attorney-General.

The majority held that it was not for the courts to decide this issue, but for administrative agencies. One concurring judge, Stephens, wrote: " . . . the evidence . . . has not left in my mind the pleasurable satisfaction that, barring a very slight possibility of error, the truth has been revealed."

The minority opinion stated " . . . the crucial finding in the case was arrived at in reliance upon incompetent evidence—evidence, moreover, received and considered in violation of a regulation of the Department designed to insure fair hearings and safeguard the rights of aliens. . . . "

July 26, 1944: Appeal for rehearing.

September 27, 1944: Petition for rehearing denied.

December 27, 1944: Bridges files with Supreme Court of the United States a petition for writ of certiorari.

June 18, 1945: *Supreme Court reverses lower court. Holds warrant of deportation against Bridges to be unlawful.*

"A Monument to Man's Intolerance of Man!"

WITH these classic words, Justice Murphy began his concurring opinion.

Mr. Justice William O. Douglas delivered the majority opinion:

"Freedom of speech and of press is accorded aliens residing in this country. So far as this record shows the literature published by Harry Bridges, the utterances made by him were entitled to that protection. They revealed a militant advocacy of the cause of trade unionism. But they did not teach or advocate the subversive conduct condemned by the statute."

The Supreme Court had spoken. The highest judicial body in the land had cleared the road. Bridges' years of hounding were over.

Citizenship

ON JUNE 23, 1945, (five days after the Supreme Court's decision) Harry Bridges filed at the San Francisco office of the Immigration & Naturalization Service the forms necessary to accomplish his naturalization. On August 8, 1945, he appeared before a naturalization examiner with his character witnesses.

And here a very important event took place—something to be recalled in later years when the word "conspiracy" was to be redefined.

Bridges had asked two veteran trade union leaders, Henry Schmidt and Paul Schnur, to be his witnesses. At the last moment the immigration official decided that Schnur's proof of derivative citizenship was faulty and told him to go home and bring more precise records.

In order not to delay this historic moment, Attorney Richard Gladstein stuck his head out of the office:

"Suddenly, and I do not know what was happening inside because I was not there—suddenly Dick Gladstein stuck his head out of the door and he looked over the crowd and he saw me and he said, 'Come on, Robertson, you

will be a witness for Bridges,' or words to that effect. And of course I was proud of standing up for Bridges and being a character witness for him," J. R. Robertson testified in the last trial.

On September 17, 1945 therefore, Bridges, with witnesses Robertson and Schmidt, appeared in Superior Court, San Francisco, before the Honorable Thomas M. Foley. The witnesses testified. Government counsel stated the witnesses were satisfactory.

Bridges was then examined. One of a number of questions put to him was this:

Q. Do you now or have you ever belonged to the Communist Party in the United States?

A. I have not, I do not.

After a few more questions, Government counsel said there was no objection to naturalization.

Harry Bridges became a citizen of the United States.

A Melancholy Record

ON MAY 25, 1949, Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt were indicted on three counts of fraud and conspiracy.

Count 1: That they conspired to defraud the United States, impairing, obstructing and defeating the proper administration of naturalization laws by having Bridges fraudulently petition for and obtain naturalization. The fraud consisted of Bridges' swearing he did not belong to the Communist Party. The Government alleged he did belong from 1933 to September 17, 1945.

Count 2: Bridges made a false statement when he answered the question about Communist Party membership — a question the Government alleged was material and the falsehood willful.

Count 3: Schmidt and Robertson assisted Bridges to receive a fraudulently obtained certificate of naturalization.

When the Grand Jury returned the indictment, Bridges moved for dismissal on grounds that:

1. The prosecution was outlawed by the statute of limitations.

2. The indictment did not state facts sufficient to constitute an offense against the United States.

3. There was a lack of particularity respecting certain allegations.

4. The indictment violated the Fifth Amendment and in the face of prior adjudications, placed Bridges twice in jeopardy.

5. The prior adjudications were *res judicata* (things already judged).

6. In the face of prior adjudications, the prosecution would deny Bridges due process guaranteed by the Fifth amendment: would deprive him of life, liberty or property without due process.

7. That the prosecution was not instituted in good faith to enforce the laws of the United States, but for different motives.

8. That the prosecution was instituted to punish Bridges for his expression of political, social and economic views, and therefore violated his rights under the First Amendment.

9. In view of the Schneiderman decision (1943), the question on which he was indicted was immaterial in a naturalization proceeding.

James Lawrence Fly, former Federal Communications Commission chairman, on October 12, 1949, argued for dismissal: "There has never been a more melancholy record in American legal history. . . . One seeks in vain for a comparable case in all American history . . ."

The indictment was *not* quashed—and it climaxed fifteen years of prosecution—and persecution.

Clearly, as the opinions of Justices Douglas and Murphy indicate, the motive behind this persecution was to remove Bridges from his place of leadership in the labor movement.

No clearer expression of this motivation could be found than the statement of the then Attorney-General (now Supreme Court Justice) Tom Clark. In June, 1949, there was a longshore strike in Hawaii. On June 26, Clark spoke before the American Relief for Germany Committee in Milwaukee:

> *"If we are successful in our prosecution of Bridges, it may be that we can break the Hawaiian situation without any other intervention."*

Statute of Limitations

THREE years, eight months and eight days after naturalization, the indictment was brought in.

The indictment should have been barred by the three-year statute of limitations.

The Government sought to circumvent its own statute by contending that the normal three-year law was suspended by the Wartime Suspension statute.

This statute was designed to prosecute cases of wartime fraud—pecuniary fraud; to prosecute individuals and firms who cheated the government in selling goods or services or property.

The defense appeal regards the statute of limitations as a key point in asking for a reversal and points to three outstanding cases in which the facts are the same as the Bridges case. In each of these cases the higher court said the Suspension Act did *not* apply to false swearing:

—*In the Marzani case, the court refused to apply the Suspension Act and barred a number of counts on the statute of limitations.*

—*In the United States v. Obermeier, the Second Circuit in Detroit reversed a conviction for perjury on the grounds that the Wartime Suspension Act did not apply.*

—*Based on the Obermeier decision, the District Court in Detroit, on November 14, 1951, dismissed an indictment against George Charnowola. Charnowola was naturalized in March, 1945. He was asked during the hearing if he was ever a Communist, to which he answered "no." He was indicted on January 5, 1951.*

—*The District Judge dismissed the case on the grounds that the indictment was brought in more than three years after the offense was alleged to have been committed, stating that the Wartime Suspension of Limitations Act did not apply to such a prosecution.*

The defense appeal claims further that the case should never have been brought to trial because of the doctrine of *double jeopardy* and *res judicata.* No person shall be "subjected for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life and limb." (U. S. Constitution, 5th Amendment.)

The Government claimed, and the court upheld, that Bridges had in all previous cases been subjected only to deportation but had not been on trial for perjury and conspiracy. Thus did the Government claim that "deportation" did not place a person in jeopardy.

The defense quotes liberally in its appeal brief showing the significant authorities who have reasoned otherwise:

—*Justice Brandeis: "Deportation . . . may result in the loss of both property and life or of all that makes life worth living."*

—*Justice Douglas (in the Bridges decision, 1945): " . . . deportation . . . may nevertheless visit as great a hardship as the deprivation of the right to pursue a vocation or calling. . . . Here the liberty of an individual is at stake. That deportation is a penalty—at times a most serious one—cannot be doubted."*

Res Judicata . . . The Case Is Closed

UNDER the Principle of *res judicata* parties are bound by the results of the litigation in which they engage.

The Bridges' defense tried in vain at every stage of the trial to raise the issue of previous proceedings; to bring before the court the record of previous administrative and judicial conclusions.

James L. Fly, in arguing for dismissal, stated the case for *res judicata*:

"When the Supreme Court in 1945 reversed the lower court's ruling on Bridges' deportation, no one could deny that at this stage this ever recurring charge had been completely litigated between the same parties, always the Government against Bridges—fully litigated and finally adjudicated."

The current appeal states: The Government must admit that the issue in the deportation proceedings revolves around the precise issue that is paramount in the last case, *e.g.*, alleged membership in the Communist Party.

Bridges tried unsuccessfully to introduce the results of past litigation time and again, only to have each attempt denied by Judge George B. Harris.

Indeed, the judge gave specific instructions to the jury to disregard any previous legal history of the case.

Supreme Court Ignored!

THOSE who had followed the Bridges case in its tortuous legal twists and turns for a decade and a half were sure that the one argument that would outweigh all others would be the opinion of the U. S. Supreme Court, handed down in 1945.

It was felt by those close to the Bridges cases that this decision would act to nullify the indictment of Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt; would fill in the void where information about the past was needed by the jury, and would act as a stumbling block to the new parade of witnesses sponsored and groomed by the prosecution.

And reading the opinion of Justice Murphy they would have been better able to evaluate the character of the government's witnesses:

> *"It is not surprising that the background and intensity of this effort to deport one individual should result in a singular lack of due process of law. Much of the evidence presented by the Government has been described by the Attorney-General as 'untrustworthy, contradictory, or unreliable.' The remaining 'Government evidence' can scarcely be described in more generous terms."*

Yet the attempt by defense attorney Vincent Hallinan to acquaint the jury with some of these statements (plus other facts of the case history) resulted in Mr. Hallinan's being sentenced for contempt of court.

Evidence?

THERE was no substantial evidence in the Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt trial, nothing a man could see or touch or feel or read.

There was circumstantial evidence—the kind that forces a defendant to try to prove his innocence rather than being presumed innocent. As in all previous cases there was hearsay evidence—words used by witnesses; descriptions of events half-remembered from a dim and hazy past.

The Government was supposed to *prove* one point above all else—that Harry Bridges was a *member* of the Communist Party of the U.S.A.

Unless that one point could be proved beyond a reasonable doubt, the evidence would not sustain a conviction.

The pending appeal states the evidence offered by the Government did *not* establish the fact; that it was all circumstantial; that the circumstances could just as well have been offered to prove Bridges was *not* a member of the Communist Party.

What was the nature of the Government's "evidence"?

The primary aim was to pile on testimony that would place Bridges at meetings or gatherings the Government repeatedly characterized as "Communist." Practically every Government witness referred to such meetings; some testified only about such meetings.

An interesting common denominator develops: *Every meeting mentioned dealt with legitimate and pressing trade union problems.*

The majority of the government's witnesses admitted that at most of these meetings there were persons who were *not* members of the Communist Party.

—One witness, Charles Krolek, testified that even *after* he left the Communist Party, he attended such a meeting with Bridges, at which trade union problems were discussed.

—Lewis H. Michener testified that before he joined the Communist Party he attended meetings with known party members, where only trade union matters were discussed.

—George Wilson testified that before he became a Communist, he attended meetings of the same character.

Significant, too, are the places where these meetings were held and the circumstances surrounding them.

—John Schomaker testified about a meeting at Grants Pass, Oregon, in 1936, where various maritime groups met to "discuss ways and means to bring these groups closer . . . "

—Stanley Hancock was brought all the way from Erie, Pennsylvania, to tell about a meeting at which the only discussion was about preparing a slate of candidates for the State Federation of Labor, and preparing some resolutions dealing with important labor matters.

—George Wilson and Mervyn Rathborne both told of a meeting in a hotel room, aimed solely at settling a dispute between an officer of the State CIO and an officer of the ILWU.

What did this sort of evidence add up to? Only that Bridges met from time to time with people who, it was claimed, were Communist Party members—and discussed trade union affairs.

(NOTE: *When Bridges answered the question in 1945: "I have not, I do not," he was well aware that both government agencies and the highest courts had decided that this kind of "evidence" was insufficient to establish affiliation or membership in the Communist Party. Yet the Government alleged that he knew he was committing perjury when he swore he was not a Communist.)*

There was another block of "evidence" the government introduced to prove Bridges was a party member—he allegedly "followed instructions" handed down by Communists.

"The Government's evidence," says the appeal brief " . . . is based upon the preposterous proposition that the needs and demands of the longshoremen on the West Coast in 1934 and 1936 were not real but were the figment of the imagination of Communist Party officials. It is a proposition too ludicrous to be accepted by this Court."

What were some of these "Communist instructions"? "Build the union"; "raise the demands of the men"; "proceed up and down the coast with rank and file committees"; "the setting of a date for the strike"; "the organization of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific"; "to consider the best strategy and tactics in the strike"; "the question of revitalizing the union".

Some of the demands the Communist Party was supposed to have ordered Bridges to raise were: "a dollar an hour, a six-hour day, a thirty-hour week, and a hiring hall."

Significantly, every issue supposedly "ordered" by the Communists was finally adopted by President Roosevelt's Board which settled the 1934 strike.

It is important to note that the Supreme Court stated that to prove "affiliation," the "acts must evidence a working alliance to bring the program to fruition."

In Bridges' case, any alliance with Communists was recognized by Justice Douglas as part of Bridges' " . . . *endeavor to improve the lot of the working man on the waterfront.*"

(NOTE: *Judge Healy of the Ninth Circuit Court in 1944 made this cogent comment on the nature of the evidence presented by the Government: "Prior to and during the course of the second trial the Service had enlisted the powerful co-operation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The country had been scoured for witnesses, every circumstance of Bridges' active life had been subject to scrutiny, and presumably no stone had been left unturned which might conceal evidence of the truth of the charges which are so flatly denied. The most significant feature of the inquiry, as it seems to me is the paucity of the evidentiary product as contrasted with the magnitude of the effort expended in producing it.")*

Witnesses—"Inherently Improbable"

THERE was no documentary evidence to prove Bridges had ever been a member of the Communist Party.

The Government relied on two witnesses to testify they *heard* Bridges say he was a member.

The Government asked the jury to believe that Bridges appeared at a public meeting where there were many people unknown to him (and also unknown to these witnesses) and at this meeting, a casual gathering at someone's house, told the assembled group, " . . . I am a Communist."

This incident was supposed to have happened at the very time Bridges was under arrest on a warrant of deportation. He knew, as everyone else did, that he was under constant surveillance and had been for years; that in all probability someone had followed him to this very gathering. He knew he had many powerful enemies; that the country had been scoured for any kind of evidence that would connect him with the Communist Party.

The appeal says: "This evidence is inherently improbable."

(It is an understatement.)

Application Card!

THE crucial testimony in the last trial was witness John B. Schomaker's statement with respect to Bridges' signing an application card for membership in the Communist Party.

The appeal points to " . . . an interesting aspect which reveals its utter falsity."

Schomaker gave an elaborate build-up about the circumstances leading up to this alleged application card. Then he testified that he was called out of the restaurant where he, Bridges and a third person (B. B. Jones) had been sitting together. He remained away from the restaurant for "fifteen or twenty minutes." He did not see Bridges again on that occasion. In short, he was not present at the time Bridges was supposed to have signed the card!

He testified that B. B. Jones told him about the card later.

The appeal charges that this is purely hearsay and not corroborated by another independent witness. What is more important, Jones himself denied categorically on the witness stand that this event ever took place.

Witnesses—Paying Dues

SCHOMAKER testified he saw Bridges pay Communist Party dues. This was flatly denied by Bridges. Schomaker provided names of these "dues collectors," but not a witness appeared to corroborate him.

The law in perjury cases has long held that to obtain conviction there must be at least two independent witnesses.

A very significant event was revealed in regard to at least one of those named by Schomaker. A longshoreman, Herman Mann, was visited at various times by immigration officials. His wife was dying of cancer. These officials told Mann if he would testify against Bridges they would use their influence with the Government to help save his wife's life. Mann told them

he had nothing to say. They kept calling on Mann, hounding him, though obviously there was nothing they could do to save his wife. When the immigration officials called on him the last time, Mann informed them quietly that his wife was dead.

Witnesses—Skeleton in the Closet

THE appeal now pending points out that a remarkable number of witnesses were persons who, in one way or another, had some previous contact with the Immigration & Naturalization Service.

Four witnesses, Schrimpf, Krolek, Harris and Ross are naturalized citizens.

Schrimpf, like Bridges, was Australian born. He presents significant grounds for suspicion. He testified that he was a member of the Communist Party during the same period he claimed Bridges was a member. Yet he had no difficulty becoming naturalized in 1943—when an oath was required stating he had not belonged to a proscribed organization. Thus, it appears Schrimpf lied when he obtained citizenship in 1943.

Testimony against Bridges obviously confers special privileges and immunities.

Two of the witnesses, Wilson and Michener, had been government employees. Both testified they had been Communists. Both had sworn at some point that they had *never* been Communists—on applications for Federal jobs. Curiously, Michener's personnel file in the Government's records was incomplete—the oath was missing.

The Immigration Service found people in the most unlikely places. Stanley Hancock in Erie, Pennsylvania; Lawrence Ross in Memphis, Tennessee. Hundreds of pages of transcript are devoted to the comings and goings of government agents to contact Hancock, Ross, Rathborne and Michener. Some of these witnesses testified they told the agents they knew nothing about Bridges' alleged party membership, but after days and weeks and even months of constant visits they were apparently induced to testify.

Of the skeletons in the closets—which made some witnesses easy prey to government pressure—two cases stand out. One is Mervyn Rathborne, who had been voting regularly in both state and Federal elections despite the fact that in 1928 he was convicted of a felony. Though Rathborne was not an alien, the Immigration Service took it upon itself to arrange with the Los Angeles Superior Court, shortly before Rathborne was due to appear, to have the felony record "expunged".

This doesn't change the fact that before his record was expunged Rathborne repeatedly violated the law. Like every witness caught with records of previous violations, Rathborne is free today. Other significant facts about Rathborne: He admitted giving false testimony before a Congressional committee. In testifying that he had lied under oath in the past, while insisting that he was telling the truth in this trial, he finally conceded it was really impossible to tell when or if he was telling the truth.

Money . . . Money . . . Money

RATHBORNE also testified under oath that he had received at least $5000 in the form of a regular salary while waiting around to be a witness, plus expenses and witness fees.

The professional witness was a phenomenon of this case, and he is a phenomenon of these times. Paul Crouch and Manning Johnson apparently make their livelihood this way.

Johnson had testified in almost two dozen cases before he appeared against Bridges; Crouch had already testified in ten cases in seven months. Since then, both have appeared regularly in one trial or hearing after another, doing the same fingerwork—for a fee.

Crouch and Johnson provided a startling example of flagrant perjury. They both testified they saw Bridges at a Communist Party meeting in New York on or about June 27, 1936. A voluminous record, including eleven witnesses, newspaper articles, leaflets and financial files, proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Bridges was in Stockton, California, at the very time Crouch and Johnson "saw" him in New York.

The appeal points out that while these men must have known they did not see Bridges in New York, they did not hesitate to repeat this barefaced lie. "For their services," says the appeal, "these men were handsomely rewarded. It is perfectly obvious they would testify to anything in order to maintain their positions."

A Life of Lies

THE most overt example of perjury came in the testimony of the witness Ross. For almost a week he had repeatedly lied under oath about his name, his origin, his education and much else. Instead of the Southern-born and -bred gentleman he said he was, he turned out to be Polish-born and Bronx-bred.

The Government prosecutor knew he had been lying. Indeed, it is assumed that it was because the government knew he had been living a lie, even keeping his wife in the dark about his origin, that the prosecution was able to make so pliant a witness of him. On a certain Friday afternoon the prosecutor apparently got wind of the fact that the defense had learned the truth. The Government counsel tried desperately to have Ross excused. A last minute telegram kept Ross from being excused. On the following Monday morning he made a clean breast of his lies.

Ross was never held to account for the self-confessed perjury he committed in the U. S. District Court.

The Judge Becomes the Prosecutor

THE current appeal specifies more than a score of prejudicial errors in the judge's conduct of the trial. One outstanding example was Judge Harris' questioning of Father Paul Meinecke, a defense witness. Harris then made statements in the presence of the jury justifying his questions. The defense charges Judge Harris with attempting to discredit Father

Paul's testimony, to destroy its value in the minds of the jury and to deprive the defendants of its benefit by suggesting that Father Meinecke was unbalanced.

There is no doubt the Government was surprised and enraged by the testimony of a Catholic priest vouching for Bridges' reputation for veracity. "*It was necessary,*" says the appeal, "*to the Government that this testimony be destroyed. . . . The trial court, by throwing itself into the breech on behalf of the Government, clearly committed reversible error and deprived appellants of a fair trial. It made it clear to the jury . . . that the court was insisting upon a conviction.*"

After the priest was examined by both sides, Judge Harris stepped in with, "One question, Father Meinecke." A number of questions followed regarding witness's memory, orientation and ability to recollect events, ending with, "Have you been recently subjected to medical treatment, Father?"

Associate counsel James Martin MacInnis, a personal friend of Father Meinecke, stood up at this point and indignantly told the Judge he should be ashamed of himself for asking such a question. For this, Mr. MacInnis was held in contempt of court and faces three months' imprisonment.

Conviction . . . Bail . . . Jail

ON APRIL 4, 1950, the jury found Bridges, Robertson and Schmidt guilty. Bridges was sentenced to five years in prison, his co-defendants to two years each.

The convictions were immediately appealed. Bridges was released on $25,000 bail.

Then came the Korean war!

Bridges' home Local (10) debated a lengthy resolution condemning North Korea. Bridges offered a substitute resolution " . . . *to support the UN order to cease fire and for a return to the status quo and to have that organization settle the dispute peacefully through discussion with all parties concerned in order to avoid a worldwide atomic war.*"

The original resolution was adopted; Bridges' substitute motion failed.

Two other events took place about the same time. The Local was informed it would have to vote by referendum whether or not Bridges should resign his honorary presidency of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Maritime Department. At the same time the president of Local 10 reported on the Government's plans for "port security," the screening of maritime workers. Bridges, as he had before and has since, spoke strongly against screening, arguing that this measure would discriminate primarily against militant trade unionists.

Taking all these things together, with a fervent appeal to the hysteria of the times, the Government demanded that Bridges' bail be revoked, arguing that the Korean crisis had rendered him a menace to public security.

He spent twenty-one days in the county jail while the bail revocation was appealed to the Ninth Circuit Court.

" . . . When High Judges Prostitute Themselves . . . "

OUT of his appeal for bail came a significant opinion, written by Judge Healy, Judge William Orr concurring:

"There was a period in English history when high judges prostituted themselves to the role of mere instruments for carrying into effect the arbitrary will of the Crown. . . . It was in part owing to those unhappy experiences (that) the judiciary was set up as an equal (and independent) branch of the government. . . . The conception of the founders was of an unfettered judiciary standing whenever necessary, between the individual and the exercise by the state of arbitrary power.

"But it is one thing to refrain from interference (where public safety is involved) and quite another for the courts to become themselves the tools of military expediency; and we say now, with all the emphasis we are able to command, that however hard and disagreeable may be the task in times of popular passion and excitement it is the duty of the courts to set their faces like flint against this erosive subversion of the judicial process."

Finding that there was no truth in the Government's claim that Bridges had committed any crime, stating further that there was an appeal in good

faith pending, and finally indicating that there was a very substantial case for dismissing the original indictment on grounds of the statute of limitations (. . . his case involves a substantial question which should be determined by the appellate court"), Judge Healy ordered the revocation order vacated and Bridges freed on bail.

Appeal Pending

THE appeal briefs are in the hands of the Ninth Circuit Court. No longer do the issues of this eighteen-year-old case hinge on whether one agrees or disagrees with Harry Bridges.

Too many laws have been broken, too many Constitutional guarantees violated, too many honored traditions of law and custom subjected to the "erosive subversion of the judicial process".

Two statements stand out—one from Justice Frank Murphy's 1945 opinion:

"Our concern in this case does not halt with the fate of Harry Bridges, an alien whose constitutional rights have been grossly violated. The significance of this case is far reaching. The liberties of the 3,500,000 other aliens in this nation are also at stake. Many of these aliens, like many of our forebears, were driven from their original homelands by bigoted authorities who denied the existence of freedom and tolerance. It would be a dismal prospect for them to discover that their freedom in the United States is dependent upon their conformity to the popular notions of the moment. But they need not make that discovery. The Bill of Rights belongs to them as well as to all citizens. It protects them as long as they reside within the boundaries of our land. It protects them in the exercise of the great individual rights necessary to a sound political and economic democracy. Neither injunction, fine, imprisonment nor deportation can be utilized to restrict or prevent the exercise of intellectual freedom. Only by zealously guarding the rights of the most despised among us can freedom flourish and endure in our land."

The other statement appears in the appeal brief now pending:

"The concentrated and relentless crusade against Bridges . . . is unique in the annals of American legal history and is one which, irrespective of the ulti-

mate fate of Harry Renton Bridges, the people and the Courts of the United States might well ponder. It is alarming and not so much because of what it can or may ultimately do to the three individuals directly involved here, but because it represents a distortion of governmental process for the purpose of achieving a preconceived end and, if permitted to succeed, will make a mockery of the proud boast that ours is a government of laws and not of men."

What this "erosive subversion of the judicial process" has done to Bridges and his family is itself a cruel story to revolt the minds of decent men and women.

But this erosion has eaten at more than one man's life. It has chipped away at the Constitution and the law itself.

And—it is *your* Constitution—and ultimately *you* who must suffer if the persecution of Harry Bridges, his colleagues and his union is permitted to continue to its "preconceived end".

The Bridges - Robertson - Schmidt Defense Committee hopes this factual presentation of the Bridges case will convince you that a grave miscarriage of justice is in danger of being committed. If you agree, you will want to express your opinions to Mr. J. Howard McGrath, the Attorney General of the United States. Democracy and equal justice are not static concepts; they expand, grow, live, or contract and die in exact proportion to the citizen's participation in the processes of democracy. Your comments or requests for further information would be appreciated by

The Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee

150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco 2, Calif.

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Yes ( )
No (X)

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89 page printed pamphlet entitled "Get On Board the Freedom Train".

11-23-5-2 Pub 12/13/51

GET ON BOARD THE FREEDOM TRAIN!

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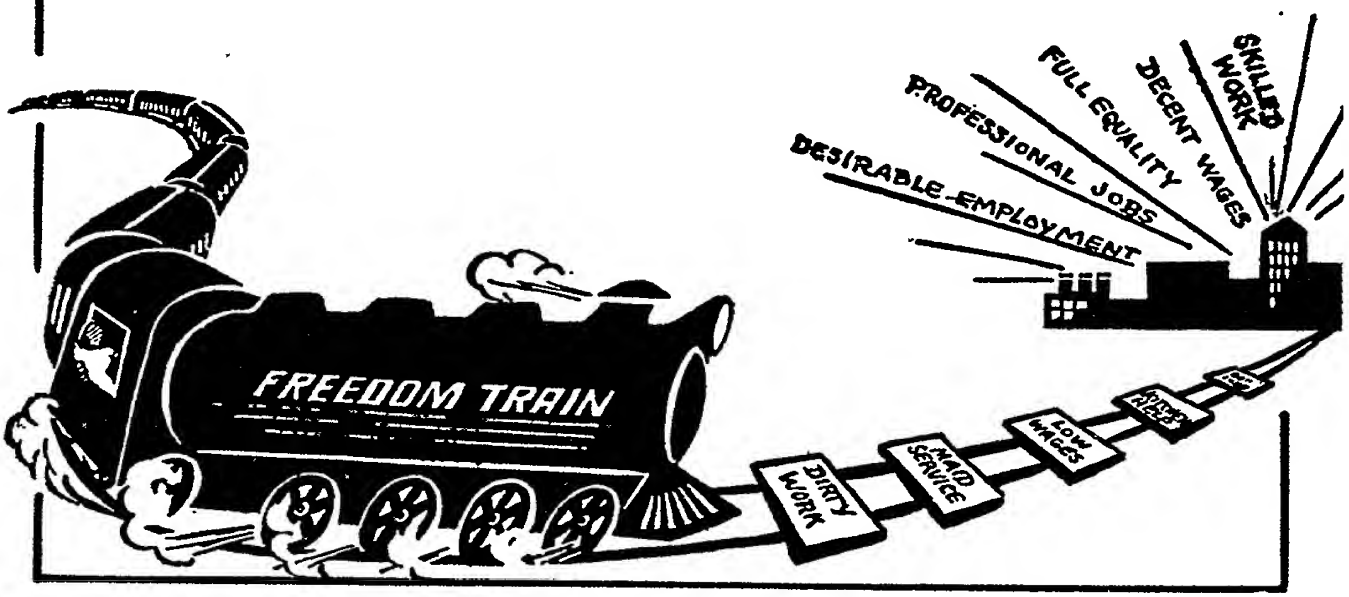

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

Cincinnati, October 27 — 28, 1951

PRICE: $1.00

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TO ALL LOVERS OF FREEDOM

"Without Struggle There Is No Progress"

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

PROCEEDINGS of FOUNDING CONVENTION of the NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

OCTOBER 27 and 28
RITZ BALLROOM
1002 CENTRAL AVENUE
CINCINNATI, OHIO

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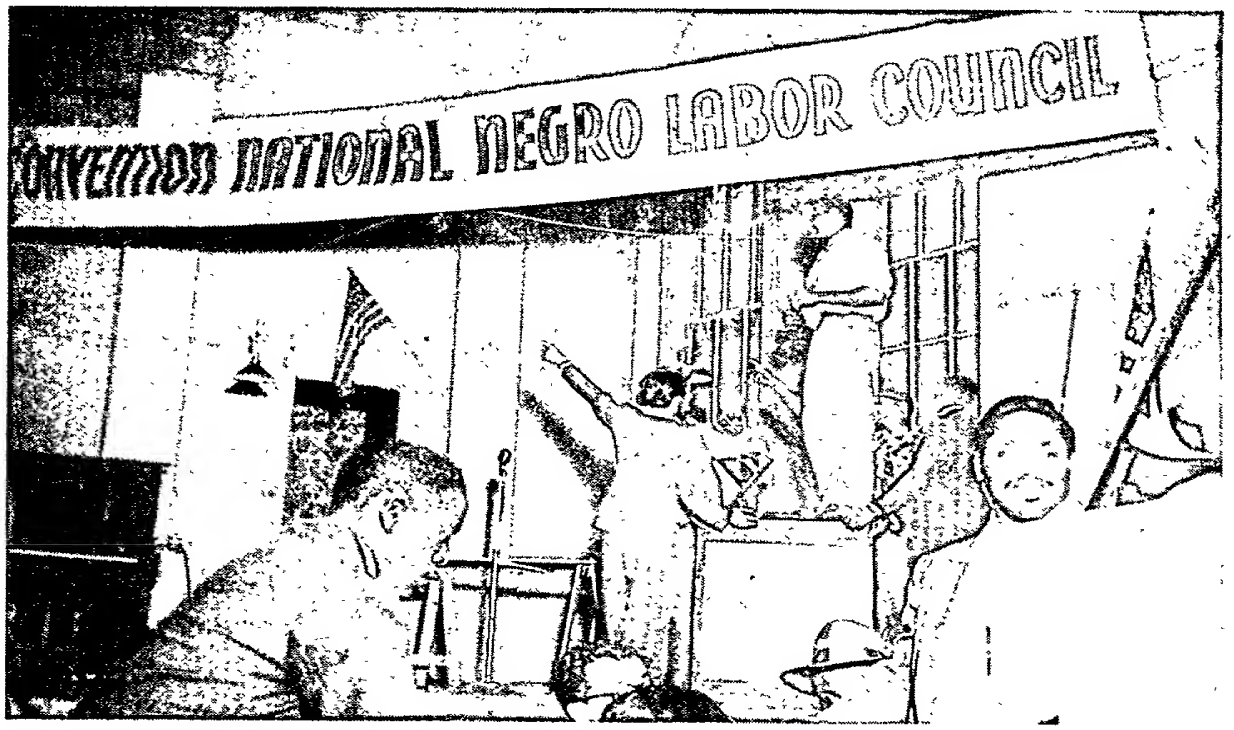
CALL TO THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

To all Negro workers and their white union brothers and sisters:

All over our land, including the deep South, the Negro people are awakening to the hard fact that they have but one direction in which to move — FORWARD. The cry for freedom that rings forth throughout the world from the throats of hundreds of millions of oppressed colonial colored peoples, stirs the smouldering fires of freedom that burn in the breasts of America's Negro people. It creates the need for a new kind of leadership that will move forward into a death struggle with jim crow and will not compromise with our oppressors and murderers of mankind.

NEGRO PEOPLE ARE ON THE MARCH

Already, the determination of the Negro people to fight back against acts of intimidation, terror and mob violence in legal and illegal form which have increased with the preparation for all-out war, has been demonstrated in many ways. Peekskill, USA, is our answer to those who attempt to cow us. Though Willie McGee and the Martinsville Seven



Preparation of Hall Opening Day

died—victims of Southern jim crow rule—the hypocrisy of white America's claim of "freedom and justice for all" stands exposed to all the world. Freedom for whom? Freedom to do what?

The Negro people are reflecting the "save the free world," "equality of sacrifice," and other false and demagogic slogans publicized by greedy war profiteers and their agents in public office in order to better rob the workers and oppress the Negro people.

We know that American foreign policy cannot advance freedom for Asians and Africans until American domestic policy advances freedom for American Negroes as a people. The Negro people like the colored peoples throughout the world are on the march. We too, demand our freedom. We know the common enemy. He is the enemy of the workers, of the colonial peoples, and of the Negro people. He is the open or sly defender here at home of white supremacy. He can be defeated. He must be defeated. The needs of both Negro and white workers demand that he be defeated.

The pressure of such needs found expression in the historic Conference for Negro Rights held in Chicago in June 1950. More than a thousand Negro workers and their white allies assembled to plan programs to deal a death blow to jim crow. Negro trade union leaders, with the support of their white brothers, brought forth a program that spells an end to second-class citizenship for Negro people in America.

NEGRO-WHITE UNITY

Our Chicago Conference issued a program calling for a model anti-discrimination clause to be included in every trade union contract; to end lily-white employment in all industries and job categories; for admission of Negro workers to all apprentice training courses; for full job opportunities in industry for Negro women; for an end to the miserable lot of Negro sharecroppers.

Together, Negro and white workers, we dedicated ourselves to the monumental task of building Negro Labor Councils in every industrial community in our nation to cement further the new kind of Negro-white unity that made Peekskill a symbol of progressive America. Negro Labor Councils are needed to forge unity of Negro and white workers in struggle against the mounting mob violence that victimizes innocent Negro men and women, and in struggle to achieve justice and equality as we believe true Americans define it. Only through such struggles can we raise to new heights a Negro-white unity which can attain the just economic demands of the trade unions, and bolster their defense against the coalition of bosses, bankers and Ku Klux politicians who ruthlessly try to smash all progressive trade unionism in America.

WE HAVE FORGED AHEAD

Within the past year, 23 such Negro Labor Councils have been established throughout the country. Already struggles have been waged both in behalf of and in defense of the rights of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and members of other minority groups. Fair employment practices legislation, peace negotiations in Korea, housing programs, union representation, protests against police brutality are only a few of the fields in which struggle has been initiated.

We have made small gains and won small victories. But new threats, new obstacles, new laws and new tech-

Registration of Delegates

niques make our task ever increasingly difficult. Many of those most outspoken on our behalf—both Negro and white—are being persecuted, fined and jailed. More discrimination, more frameups, more violence and terror, and more persecution of the Negro men, women and youth who have stepped out in front to give leadership to such struggles, are the answer of those who grow fat on the profits and other economic pay-offs of the jim-crow ghetto system.

NEGRO WORKER LEADERSHIP PARAMOUNT

Therefore the time has come to establish a permanent national organization in order to mobilize the greatest organized strength of Negro workers. National unity of Negro workers can produce the kind of leadership that will not be content with small individual victories—a job here; upgrading there; a life saved here; a mob stopped there—but who will be content with nothing less than full freedom for the Negro people and an end to the era of second-class citizenship. With the support of our allies, our white union brothers and sisters who join with us, we can raise the level of militant struggle for freedom to new heights and fulfill the heritage of Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, Denmark Vesey, Nat Turner, Harriet Tubman, John Brown and other crusaders for freedom who have laid down a historic challenge to us.

WE CAN HALT TERROR AGAINST NEGRO PEOPLE

It is this will of Negro workers throughout the nation to exercise their power, to accept leadership in this struggle that can win now our full freedom and citizenship. Our valiant forefathers have not died in vain. We hold their flaming torch of freedom aloft.

With unity and organization under

fearless leadership, we will prevent the repetition of further legal lynchings of the Negro people, such as Willie McGee and the Martinsville 7, the frameups of Rosa Lee Ingram, Lieut. Gilbert, DuBois, Patterson and the Trenton 6. We will demand and win equality of opportunity to obtain the better jobs in industry for Negro men and women. We will demand and win decent, unsegregated housing; equal educational opportunities; the right to police protection and fair trials and to all the democratic liberties and human dignity.

In this spirit, we the National Continuations Committee of the Chicago Conference for Negro Rights, and the present Negro Labor Councils, call upon Negro workers, especially those in the trade union movement, and all other segments of the Negro people and our white brothers and sisters, to unite our scattered forces and to join in the founding of a national organization which will dedicate itself to this consistent and uncompromising struggle.

ON TO CINCINNATI

We have selected Cincinnati as the site for this historic convention because of its special significance. It was in this area during the period of the Underground Railroad that Negro men and women bridged their flight from slavery to "freedom." Cincinnati can and must be a successful point of departure for the fuller freedom which is ours.

CONVENTION SCHEDULE

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1951

8:00 P.M.—2:00 A.M. — *Registration*

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1951

10:00 A.M. — 12:00 Noon — *Plenary Session*

- National Anthem
- Negro National Anthem
- Invocation
- Organization of Convention (Convention Rules)
- Introduction of the President—Ernie Thompson
- Keynote Address—William R. Hood

12:00 Noon — 1:00 P.M. — *Lunch*

1:00 P.M.—3:00 P.M. — *Panel Discussions*

- Panel 1—The Fight for Jobs
  - Effect of War Economy on Jobs for Negroes
  - Negro Women in Industry
  - Problems of Negro Youth
- Panel 2—The Fight for Freedom
  - Colonialism
  - Negro Oppression in the South
  - The Rising Tide of Fascism

3:00 P.M.—5:30 P.M. — *Plenary Session*

- Report of Panels
  - Discussion
- Adjournment

8:30 P.M.—11:00 P.M. — *Cultural Mass Meeting*

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1951

10:00 A.M.—1:30 P.M. — *Plenary Session*

- (10:25) Constitution Committee
- (10:45) Building the NNLC
  - Program of Action (Executive Secretary Report)
- (11:05) Discussion of Program of Action
- (12:05) Credentials Committee Report
- (12:15) Resolution Committee Report

1:30 P.M.—2:30 P.M. — *Lunch*

2:30 P.M.—5:30 P.M. — *Plenary Session*

- (2:40) Report of Nominations Committee
  - Election of Officers
- (4:00) Report of Resolutions Committee
- (5:15) Closing Remarks

5:30 P.M. — *Adjournment*

OPENING SESSION

The Convention opened at 12:30 *P.M. October* 27, 1951 *with the singing of the* STAR SPANGLED BANNER, *followed by the Negro National Anthem,* LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING.

CHAIRMAN:

The person who has been at the very hub of activities and who has done more, in my opinion, than any one individual in order to make this Convention possible, a young Negro woman. She has distinguished herself in areas of trade union activity, as International Vice-President of DPOW, and she is a vital cog today in the new organization we propose to build. I present to you, Mrs. Vicki Garvin. (*Loud applause..*)

MRS. VICKI GARVIN:

On behalf of the National Planning Committee and the Cincinnati Arrangements Committee, I welcome you to our Founding Convention. We are making history today. The eyes of many people, nationally and internationally, are upon us to see whether we will keep faith and deliver. There can be no doubt that these sessions will be recorded as a major development in the struggle of the Negro people for freedom and equality. We have enjoined a basic fight boldly and without compromise, and are dedicated to stay to the finish.

The fact that we, Negro and white workers, did succeed in assembling in Cincinnati is no small victory. Rarely has any organization at its initial stage been confronted with such fierce opposition. The mere issuance of our Convention Call brought upon our heads the most powerful combination of forces: big business which recognizes the threat our program presents to the maintenance of its super profits; government agencies such as the F.B.I., the Cincinnati City Council which passed a resolution condemning our Convention, and the Fire Department which harassed us; top trade union officials such as Philip Murray, Walter Reuther and James Carey who dared try to intimidate and to instruct their Negro members to boycott our Convention; the press and the radio which persistently attempted to smear our organization and create a "Peekskill atmosphere" in the city; several local and national Negro leaders who lack confidence in their people and who fear our militancy. In the midwest and in Cincinnati particularly, the attempts of those who would commit us to stillbirth were especially intense.

But we accepted the challenge, defied their power, won the people and defeated their efforts. We are here today, united and determined to set our Freedom Train in motion.

Let all take note that our very composition here disproves the charge that we are establishing a jim-crow organization. We are demonstrating in action that in our fight for equality and dignity white workers will unite with us under our leadership.

Our presence here today records still another victory—concrete proof that despite pressure and hysteria the Negro people will remain firm and support genuine struggles for pro-

Standing L. to R. JERRY BOYD, COLEMAN YOUNG, RAYMOND DENNIS, seated, L. to R. VICKI GARVIN, PEARL LAWS, BERT WASHINGTON

gress. We are indebted to the several Negro ministers, professionals, business men and women, including the management of the Manse Hotel, for their encouragement and cooperation. I am especially proud of the hundreds of Negro families in Cincinnati who rejected the red-baiting and opened their homes and hearts to all of us when the white hotels refused us accommodations. These working men and women responded immediately to a mere postcard or telephone call when we told them of our plight. My people would not see us on the streets. Their steadfastness, combined with our unity and strength had such impact that it made possible the subsequent blow to white supremacy—our last minute breakthrough, interracially, in the major white hotels. This strength, founded on the conviction that our program is sound and correct, helped to overcome the obstacles posed thus far. The clarity and unity we develop from here on in will see us over other hurdles.

Perhaps you may not know that due to the many problems we faced, the essence and details of this Convention were completed in but three weeks'. time. Obviously there will be some weaknesses, rough spots and inconveniences our delegates are asked to bear, but which we hope to correct as speedily as possible. The "crusading" spirit generated by our movement will surely surmount these minor difficulties and set the tone for serious discussion.

A special tribute is due the small core of Cincinnati Negro Labor Council members who worked so diligently these trying weeks preparing the groundwork for our reception. To a cause that is just we are developing a quality of leadership, understanding and devotion that gives us

every reason to be confident that we will move forward rapidly, and help bring about in our lifetime the freedom, equality and security that are our heritage. I salute you.

INVOCATION

Our Father in Heaven, we come into Thy presence at this hour to give homage and reverence to Thee. We thank Thee for all Thy goodness, loving-kindness and tender mercy, O Lord God of mercy, most benign, who granteth grace in a thousand ways and unto thousands of generations. We come into Thy presence at this hour because Thou hast brought us safe from our birth until this hour. And O Lord God, as we come, we thank Thee for bringing us together; we ask that Thou bless this organization, and that Thou bless the constituents of this organization, O Lord God, as we go further into this program, we ask that Thou would use us for Thine own glory, and for the extension of Thy kingdom of Earth, and that Thou hear us and bless us. We pray in Jesus' name, Amen.

MRS. GARVIN:

From the National Electrical, Radio and Machine Shop Workers of America, Brother Ernie Thompson. (*Loud applause.*)

MR. THOMPSON:

Mr. Chairman, Guests, Brothers and Sisters: About this Convention, a lot of people have said to us, "We shall see." We say something new is happening. It gets in your bones; it's on the breezes; it's everywhere. What is it? It's a new wind of freedom blowing from the Seven Seas, and touching

ERNEST THOMPSON — U.E.R.W.M. of A.

the hearts of men and women everywhere. At the same time, the forces of reaction, war and greed, threaten the civil rights of all, in their efforts to dominate not only America, but the whole world. Through the use of the Taft-Hartley Act, the McCarran Act, they threaten us with war, fascism and destruction. This new wind brought upon the American scene a new Negro, the sons and daughters of labor. (*Applause.*) They have come with one song in their hearts—the Song of Freedom. I am called upon to introduce one of them, one of them, who is a symbol of them all, and I feel that it is so important, I want to call upon some of our great Negro poets to bring him on the scene.

Because if we look back to what happened here in Cincinnati, it was here that the great freedom fighters began the great campaign. And after a while one of them had gone, Frederick Douglass; the Negro people were in trouble. And Paul Lawrence Dunbar, a native of Ohio, had this to say, in his poem, "Frederick Douglass":

A hush is over all the teeming lists,
And there is pause, a breath-space in the strife;
A spirit brave has passed beyond the mists
And vapors that obscure the sun of life.
And Ethiopia, with bosom torn,
Laments the passing of her noblest born.

She weeps for him another's burning tears—
She loved him with a mother's deepest love.
He was her champion through direful years
And held her weal all other ends above.
When Bondage held her bleeding in the dust,
He raised her up and whispered, "Hope and Trust."

For her his voice, a fearless clarion, rung
That broke in warning on the ears of men;
For her the strong bow of his power he strung
And sent his arrows to the very den
Where grim Oppression held his bloody place
And gloated o'er the miseries of the race.

We weep for him, but we have touched his hand,
And felt the magic of his presence nigh,
The current that he sent throughout the land,
The kindling spirit of his battle-cry.
O'er all that holds us we shall triumph yet,
And place our banner where his hopes were set!

Oh Douglass, thou hast passed beyond the shore,
But still thy voice is ringing o'er the gale!
Thou'st taught thy race how high her hopes may soar,
And bade her seek the heights, nor faint, nor fail,
She will not fail, she heeds the stirring cry,
She knows thy guardian spirit will be nigh,
And, rising from beneath the chastening rod,
She stretches out her bleeding hands to God!

But Douglass had gone. The war of slavery was over. And the forces of reaction, as the Northern Republicans, who had destroyed the slave government, deserted the Negro people. And terror marched in the land. These were dark days, indeed, for Negro America. But as one of our other poets said, "That out of this darkness, and out of the night, Black man crawls to the dawn of light; Beaten by lashes and bound by chains; Searching, Seeking for the Freedom Train." Then came the period, the slow period, the period of Booker T. Washington. A hat-in-hand period. But this did not answer the question. And then came upon the scene the Niagara Movement of a new fight back led by W. E. B. Du Bois, Trotter, Forbes and the Negro intellectuals. A new period was beginning. Then followed the NAACP, then came World War I, Depression; then World War II—the fight against fascism.

And out of this all was being hemmed and hewed this new Negro; and I would like for Sterling Brown, the modern Negro poet to describe it. He says this about him:

They bought off some of your leaders
You stumbled, as blind men will . . .
They coaxed you, unwontedly
soft-voiced . . .
You followed a way.
Then laughed as usual.
They heard the laugh and wondered;
Uncomfortable;
Unadmitting a deeper terror . . . .
The strong men keep a comin' on
Gittin' stronger . . . .
What, from the slums
Where they have hemmed you,

What, from the tiny huts
They could not keep from you—
What reached them
Making them ill at ease, fearful?
Today they shout prohibition at you:
"Thou shalt not this"
"Thou shalt not that"
"Reserved for whites only."
You laugh.
One thing they cannot prohibit;
Strong men comin' on
Strong men getting stronger
Strong men stronger.

Ladies and gentlemen, it is my honor to present the symbol of this new Negro, this symbol of a fighter for freedom, for unity, a leader of our Council and a leader of one of the largest, the largest local unions in America. Somebody said, "I saw in the paper the other day that this guy don't speak for them, the leaders of their particular union." I'd like to say like Langston Hughes' *Simple* said, "He sure speaks for us," and in the words of Simple, he's here to speak his mind. (*Loud applause.*)

WILLIAM R. HOOD, *Secretary, Ford Local 600; President, National Negro Labor Council*:

Brothers and Sisters: This is an historic day. On this day, we the delegated representatives of thousands of workers, black and white, dedicate ourselves to the search for a new North Star, the same star that Sojourner Truth, Nat Turner and John Brown saw rise over the city of Cincinnati over a century ago.

We come conscious of the new stage in the Negro people's surge toward freedom. We come to announce to all America and to the world that Uncle Tom is dead. (*Applause.*) "Old Massa" lies sleeping in the cold, cold grave. (*Applause.*) Something new is

WILLIAM HOOD — Local 600, U.A.W.-CIO

cooking on the Freedom Train.

We come here today because we are conscious at this hour of a confronting world crisis. We are here because many of our liberties are disappearing in the face of a powerful war economy and grave economic problems face working men and women everywhere. No meeting held anywhere in America at this mid-century point in world history can be more important nor hold more promise for the bright future toward which humanity strives than this convention of our great National Negro Labor Council. For here we have gathered this basic force of human progress: the black sons and daughters of labor and our democratic white brothers and sisters whose increasing concern for democracy, equality and peace is America's bright hope for tomorrow.

We, the Negro working sons and daughters, have come to Cincinnati to keep faith with our forefathers and mothers who landed right here upon the banks of the Ohio river in their dash for freedom from chattel slavery

through the underground railroad. We come here to Cincinnati to pledge ourselves that the fight for economic, political and social freedom which they began, shall not have been in vain.

Yes, we are here as proud black Americans, working men and women; proud of the right to live, without humiliation. We are proud, too, because of our democratic white brothers and sisters who have come here; proud because these staunch allies are not afraid to stand shoulder to shoulder with us to fight for that which is decent and right.

The Negro Labor Council is our symbol, the medium of expression of our aims and aspirations. It is the expression of our desire and determination to bring to bear our full weight to help win first-class citizenship for every black man, woman and child in America. (*Applause.*) We say that these are legitimate aims. We say that these aspirations burn fiercely in the breast of the Negro in America. And we further say that millions of white workers echo our demands for freedom. These white workers recognize in the struggle for Negro rights, the prerequisites of their own aspirations for a full life and a guarantee that the rising tide of fascism will not engulf America. (*Applause.*)

And we say that those whites who call the National Negro Labor Council "subversive" have an ulterior motive. We know them for what they are. They are the common oppressors of both people, Negro and white. We charge that their false cry of "subversive" is calculated to maintain and extend the condition of common oppression. We say to those whites: "You have never seen your mothers, sisters and daughters turned away from thousands of plant gates, from the airlines, the offices, stores and other places of desirable employment, insulted and driven into the streets many times when they tried to eat in public places —simply because of their color. You have never been terrorized by the mob, you have never been shot in cold blood by the police; you have never had your home burned when you moved out of the ghetto into another neighborhood — simply because you were black. You are not denied the franchise; you are not denied credit in banks, denied insurance, jobs, upgrading—because of the pigmentation of your skin. You are not denied union membership and representation. You do not die ten years before the rest of the people because of these many denials of basic rights."

Therefore, you who call this National Negro Labor Council "subversive" cannot understand the burning anger of the Negro people in America, our desire to share the good things our labor has produced for America. You do not understand this. So you sit like Walter Winchell, one of our attackers, in the Stork Club in New York and see that great Negro woman artist, Josephine Baker, humiliated and you do not raise a finger. (*Applause.*)

The Negro Labor Council is dedicated to the proposition that these evils shall end and end soon. (*Applause.*) The world must understand that we intend to build a stronger bond of unity between black and white workers everywhere to strengthen American democracy for all. If this be subversion—then make the most of it. (*Applause.*)

A most significant event took place in Chicago in June of 1950. Over 900 delegates, Negro and white, gathered

there to chart a course in the fight for Negro rights. They came from the mines, mills, from factories of America. Many of them were leaders in the organized labor movement: seasoned, militant fighters these were. They voiced the complaints for Negro America.

BILL OF PARTICULARS

The delegates were told that as you looked throughout the land you could see Negro men and women standing in long lines before the gates of the industrial plants for jobs, only to be told no help was wanted—while at the same time white workers were hired. Negro women are denied the right to work in the basic sections of American industry, on the air lines, in the stores and other places. Those who were hired into industry in World War II have for the most part been systematically driven out — often in violation of union contracts. Vast unemployment since this war has struck the Negro community a severe blow.

UPGRADING

In thousands of factories throughout the land, Negroes were denied upgrading and better job opportunities. Too often the unions did not defend or fight for the right of Negroes to be upgraded.

APPRENTICESHIP TRAINING

We heard there, in Chicago, that Negro workers were denied any opportunity to participate in the great number of apprenticeship training programs either in industry or in government, in such fields as the building trades, machine tools, printing and engraving, and other skills.

LILY-WHITE SHOPS

We found that thousands of lily-white shops exist throughout the land where no Negro has ever worked.

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

We discovered that Federal, state and city governments maintain a severe policy of Jim Crow discrimination, beginning with the White House, and moving on down to the lowest level of municipal government.

SOUTHERN ECONOMY

Our black brothers and sisters from the South told of unemployment, low wages, wage differentials, Jim Crow unions, peonage, sharecrop robbery, and misery and destitution. They described the perpetuation of conditions that are cruelly reminiscent of slavery in Twentieth Century America.

TRADE UNION JOB DISCRIMINATION

Black firemen and brakemen came to tell of the collusive agreements between railroads and the Railroad Brotherhoods to throw Negroes out of the railroad industry after a hundred years or more. And of the denial of union membership in these unions, with no representation. A number of AFL unions were singled out for their policy of exclusion and job "monkey business" regarding black workers. We also learned that the CIO had joined the war crowd of colonial oppression and exploitation and was running fast from its early position of the Thirties when John L. Lewis was at its head and it fought for Negro rights.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Many of the delegates in Chicago were stunned to hear of the thousands of denials of civil rights in public places in every state in the union. We

were saddened and angered when we heard about the frame-ups of the Martinsville Seven, Willie McGee, and the Trenton Six and of countless other Negroes because they were black and for no other reason. We were horrified to hear of the many police killings of Negroes from New York to Birmingham, Alabama.

Negro families were still hemmed into ghettoes, charged higher rents, chained by restrictive covenants, mob-terror, and finally even bombed if they were not lucky enough to get out of the way. The rats are given ample opportunity to wreak their damage upon human beings, their destruction through disease and death.

Our delegates made it clear, in that 1950 Convention, that inferior Jim Crow schools are still the policy in the South, and Jim Crow quotas in the colleges in the North. The desire of black children for education and a full, useful life is yet a dream unrealized.

THE MANDATE

Is there any wonder then that this great Chicago gathering of the black working sons and daughters of our land said that this oppression can no longer exist in our America? Or is it any wonder that we received the full support of those stalwart, democratic white workers present there who truly love democracy and recognize our common basic unity of interests? So it was that they, in all righteous indignation, gave unto us, the continuators' organization, a mandate. They said to us: "Go out and build strong the Negro Labor Councils throughout the land. Build them into instruments of democracy, equality, and unity."

They gave unto us the main task of fighting on that front which we know best—the economic front for jobs, upgrading, for an end to the lily-white shops, for apprenticeship training, government jobs, local and state fair employment practices legislation, the non-discrimination clause in union contracts, and finally, with emphasis, the right of Negro women to work anywhere and everywhere. (*Applause.*)

They gave unto us the mandate to build an organization composed in the main of Negro workers, united and determined to wage an uncompromising struggle against Jim Crow —to build an organization which can unite with white workers who are willing to accept and support our program—to exclude no freedom fighter!

And they commissioned us to cooperate with those existing organizations, community and trade union, which have undertaken genuine campaigns for the full citizenship of the Negro people. We were directed to build a new type of organization—not an organization to compete with those existing organizations of the Negro people already at work on many civil rights struggles. The delegates who met at Chicago demanded an organization of Negro workers from a wide variety of industries, organized and unorganized, from the great industrial centers of the North, the urban communities of the South, and the farm workers from the great rural areas. Such an organization will encourage Negroes to join unions and urge unions to organize Negroes. It will call upon the entire Negro people to support labor's fight.

TO THE NEGRO PEOPLE

To the Negro people, they said unto us, say: In the Civil War thou-

sands upon thousands of Negro workers who took arms in the Union cause, won, not only their own freedom—the freedom of the Negro people—but by abolishing the institution of slave labor, provided the basis for the development of free trade unions in the United States of America.

And so, even today, as the National Negro Labor Council charts the course ahead to help the whole Negro people and their sincere allies, we sound a warning note to American reaction and bigotry. For if 15 million Negroes, led by their alert sons and daughters of labor, and united together and joined by the 15 million organized white workers in the great American Labor movement, say that there shall be no more Jim Crow in America—then there shall be no more Jim Crow! (*Loud applause.*)

If 30 million Americans—15 million Negro people united with 15 million workers—join with the Jewish people to say there shall be no more anti-Semitism, and mean it, then there will be no more anti-Semitism! (*Applause.*)

If 15 million Negroes, inspired by their true leaders of labor, united with their natural allies in the trade unions, demand an end to the persecution of the foreign-born, then the persecution of the foreign-born will come to an immediate end! (*Applause.*)

If these 30 million, black and white alike, say: "Leave DuBois, Robeson, Patterson, Lieutenant Gilbert and Josephine Baker alone, for they speak for our freedom,"—they will speak for freedom! (*Applause.*)

If this same combination speaks with one united voice for peace—there shall be peace! (*Applause.*)

We, your black sons and daughters, pledge to you that we have a pool of mighty strength to put at your service, to the end that you will have economic, political and social equality, so that you might enjoy the great and good things of our land.

We say to you: "Be confident, for we have brought to this great, democratic fight many white workers who love democracy and who know that we have worked side by side with them, fought side by side with them on the picket lines against the giant corporations. And they know that we know—and will not be divided from us, no matter what.

There are great walls in our U. S. democracy. There are great barriers behind which men's minds, souls, bodies and spirits are imprisoned by poverty, illiteracy, disease, and deceit. With our new John Browns we will break down these discriminatory barriers. Yes, we will break down these great walls of hypocrisy, together with our new John Browns, and march on for full and complete emancipation for the Negro people.

And behind the 15 million Negroes of the United States stand 180 million of our African brothers and sisters, sixty million of our kindred in the West Indies and South and Central America—for whom, as for us, war and the Point Four program would mean continued slavery and exploitation.

As our new and so vitally needed organization enters into the fight for the rights of the Negro people, we extend our hand in unity and cooperation to other great Negro organizations which have historically struggled for those objectives. And we may repeat here that we are mandated to concentrate our fire upon that area we as workers know best—the economic front.

To George Schuyler of the Pittsburgh Courier, to Lester Granger of the Urban League, to Councilman Jesse D. Locker, of Cincinnati—all of whom attacked our Council at the beck and call of the big white folks, we warn you: "Negro America is mad, hurt, and humiliated. You have spent your lives growing fat on Jim Crow while our brothers and sisters cannot find jobs, are shot down in cold blood, have their homes burned and bombed. You may yell when the big white folks tell you to, in order to keep us down, but the day of the white-haired 'Uncle Tom,' and the sleek 'Uncle Thomas' is at end." (*Loud applause.*)

Since June of last year, Negro Labor Councils have sprung up throughout the country—North, South, East, and West. The response of the Negro workers to the opportunity to unite their strength has been overwhelming. The only question most of them have asked is whether or not the Council is a hard-hitting organization.

Our Councils have begun tackling the task given us by the Chicago conference for Negro rights. A number of Councils are carrying on campaigns to end discrimination in apprenticeship training set up by the skilled trades. We have sought to do this in conjunction with the unions in the field, the employer and government agencies.

Lest we be misunderstood, however, we intend to take any and all steps to win. We have begun campaigns to convince the trade unions to adopt our model anti-discrimination contract clause. We have been carrying on campaigns for city and state FEPC legislation with teeth. The outstanding of such campaigns was a campaign run in Detroit by the Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council. Our Council there secured some 40,000 signatures to petitions for referendum by the voters of Detroit. The enemies of FEPC and the mealy-mouthed hush-hushers did, and are doing, everything they can to keep Fair Employment Practices off the ballot, while the City Council still refuses to pass on FEPC legislation.

During the course of our Council building there has been opposition from some of the trade union leaders, particularly to this convention. They have accused us of attempting dual unionism, and some of them have gone so far as to advise Negro workers not to participate in this convention. To them we say: "Look at the bill of particulars, then tell us if it is not true that we are second-class citizens in this land." Negroes are still barred from many trade unions in this country, denied apprenticeship training, upgrading, and refused jobs in many, many places.

We are not represented in the policy making bodies of most international unions. We say when the mobs came to Emerald Street in Chicago, and to Cicero, Illinois, we did not see the great trade unions move. Yet, the basic right to live in Cicero was denied, not only to the family of Harvey Clark, but to the Negro people as a whole. We say that we will no longer permit the denial of these basic rights in our country and are pooling our strength for that purpose. We intend to do it on the basis of co-operation and unity, wherever possible, with the organized labor movement.

We wish to say further that the day has ended when white trade union leaders or white leaders in any organization may presume to tell Negroes on what basis they shall come together to fight for their rights. (*Applause.*)

Three hundred years has been enough of that. We black people in America ask for your cooperation—but we do not ask for your permission! (*Ovation.*)

We believe it to be the solemn duty of trade unions everywhere, as a matter of vital self-interest, to support the Negro workers in their efforts to unite and play a more powerful role in the fight of the Negro people for a first-class citizenship based upon economic, political and social equality. We believe, further, that it is the trade unions' duty and right to encourage the white workers to join with us and support their Negro brothers and sisters in the achievement of these objectives.

Since June of last year many things have happened—the frame-up victims, Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven and many others have died. Mobs came to Cicero, Illinois, home-burnings and bombings took place, the Ku Klux Klan rides openly again, the old Confederate flag is being displayed openly throughout America, and often as a battle-flag of our troops in Korea—this ancient symbol of slavery and oppression. A war in Korea has involved our country with the colonial people of Asia. The Taft-Hartley Act, Smith Act and the McCarran Act, under the hysterical lashings of the McCarthys and other neo-fascists, threaten to destroy all civil liberties. The Negro Labor Council therefore has come into being at a time when democracy needs fearless champions. (*Applause.*)

We accept this role that history has thrust upon us; we gladly act as America's conscience. We warn America that the whole world watches. World peace hangs in the balance, while the majority of the world's people are exploited and oppressed.

Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University, in a speech made at the 1950 CIO Convention, also warned our country when he said in his address, "The Pathway to Peace":

"Now, let us take a look in all humility at these free peoples that we are. Who are they? Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Germany and the United States. We are indeed the free peoples in the sense that our domestic institutions are the freest and the most flexible institutions on earth, but there isn't a one of us, especially our European allies, who hasn't been busy during the last 200 years securing and sustaining their freedom by the political domination, economic exploitation and social humiliation of over half the human race."

I further quote Dr. Mordecai Johnson:

"If we look at ourselves in the way that history shows it to us, we are probably the most ruthless dominators and exploiters and humiliators of human life that ever spanned the pages of history. For all of a hundred years now, we have had in our hands scientific and technical intelligence, the most creative weapon of economic and political constructiveness that ever came into the hand of man. We have shown what we could do with that weapon by building up the great economic and political structure of the United States and Britain, France, Germany and Japan. But for 200 years, while we have had it in our power to build up likewise, the economic and political freedom of India, Africa, China, Malaya, Indo-China and the peoples of the Near East, we not only have not done so, but we have used that very power to conquer them in war, to dominate them politically, to exploit their natural resources and their labor, and to segregate and humiliate them upon the land upon which their fathers have died and in the presence of the graves which hold the bodies of their mothers.

"For over 100 years, there have been over a billion human beings who have been seething with indignation against us to get a taste of freedom before they die. . . . Now suppose you were Indo-Chinese, wouldn't you be amazed at us? For over 100 years the French have been in Indo-China, dominating them politically, strangling them economically, and humiliating them in the land of their fathers.

"We haven't ever sat down with the French and demanded that they change that system. And in the defect of leadership on our part, they have turned to the Communists, and the Communists have given them leaders, they have trained their troops and given them money, and now it looks as though they can win. And as they are about to win their liberty, we rush up to the scene and say, 'Dear brothers, what on earth are you all getting ready to do? Are you going to throw yourselves into the hands of this diabolical conspiracy under the false notion that they can bring you freedom? Why, they aren't free; we are the free people of the world, we have democratic institutions, we are your friends, we will send you leaders, we will send you ammunition, we will send you bread.'

"And they look at us in amazement and they say, 'Brother, where have you been? Why, if we'd 'a' known you was a-comin,' we'd of baked a cake.' "

And, believe it or not, Phil Murray agreed with that speech. He said, said he, "It was an inspirational address which could only come from the soul of a man."

MOVEMENT OF STRUGGLE

Brothers and Sisters! Eloquence is a mighty weapon in the struggle for our just demands. But what is more eloquent than the struggle itself? The big white bosses, the men in Washington, will move far more rapidly when they see millions of us in struggle than when they hear speeches alone. The Negro Labor Councils are, above all, organizations of struggle. We stand for the unity of all Negro workers, irrespective of union affiliations, organized and unorganized; for the unity of Negro and white workers together; for the unity of Negro workers with the whole Negro people in the common fight for Negro liberation; and for the alliance of the whole Negro people with the organized labor movement —the keystone combination for any kind of progress in our country.

With this in mind, and looking forward to the building of a mighty movement of Negro Labor Councils throughout the length and breadth of the land, it is my opinion that this Founding Convention should be remembered in the years to come as the gathering which launched a major, nation-wide struggle to win a basic demand of the Negro workers, and the Negro people as a whole. For this reason I propose that this Founding Convention project a central national campaign for an Executive Order from the President of the United States to establish a Federal Fair Employment Practices Order and a Federal Employment Practices Committee to enforce it.

This campaign should aim at securing the signatures of hundreds of thousands—yes millions—of Americans, Negro and white, on a national petition. It should include mass meetings, use of radio and television, a drive to secure union endorsements for the Executive Order, and support from the most varied community organizations. It should sponsor a tour of prominent speakers. It should look to Negro History Week in February 1952 as a milestone in that campaign, during which period notice should be served on the President that he is

COLEMAN YOUNG — Local 600 U.A.W.-CIO

expected to *act*—and not just double-talk—for the Executive Order. Such a national campaign will bring the Negro Labor Council's movement into hundreds of cities and communities of our country. Many tens of thousands of new workers will thereby learn of this great movement for the first time. It will provide a splendid opportunity to establish new councils and further build the existing ones. It will spark our great organizing drive.

It will also provide a new opportunity for cooperation with the various unions and the important civic, fraternal and church organizations among the Negro people, thereby furthering our basic principle of unity. Such a national campaign, far from hindering the local campaigns for FEPC, for housing, against discrimination and Jim Crow, will serve to stimulate and advance them.

This Convention will also adopt a Constitution and a Preamble and other important documents, all of which are of utmost importance. These, too, are instruments in the fight. For nothing we say or write here will have any meaning in the weeks and months to come, unless we recognize that they are our battle-flags. And battle-flags are meant to be carried into battle. Our great documents, our great battle-flags, must not be wrapped up and put away for two years after we adjourn here tomorrow. We must carry our fighting standards out of this Convention, unfurled and into battle.

We face a number of great tasks. We are called upon to chart a course that will win thousands of new job opportunities for Negro men and women, that will convince the organized labor movement to complete the organization of the South on the basis of equality and non-segregation, that will help bring the franchise to all the peoples in the South. (*Applause.*)

We are on the high road to a more democratic America. We are on the way toward breaking the grip of the Dixiecrats and the northern reactionaries on our national life. I know that as you hammer out a program in these two days you will speed up the Freedom Train; you will give greater spirit and meaning to the Negro Labor Councils; you will adopt the battle cry of the great Frederick Douglass: "Where there is no struggle, there is no progress!"

We move on, united—and neither man nor beast will turn us back. We will achieve in our time, for ourselves and for our children, a world of no Jim Crow; of no more "white men's jobs" and "colored only" schools; a world of freedom, full equality, security and peace. Our task is clearly set forth. Brothers and Sisters, we move on to struggle and to victory! (*Sustained applause and ovation.*)

(End of Morning session)

PANEL DISCUSSIONS

Saturday Afternoon, October 27

Panel 1: FIGHT FOR JOBS

Panel Chairman, SAM PARKS, *Packinghouse Workers*

MR. THIBODEAUX:

Just for the record my name is Al Thibodeaux (from the Marine Cooks and Stewards, San Francisco Local).

The topic which I have chosen to attempt to speak to you on with some amount of clarity is one that I imagine we find different all over the country. Unfortunately, the economic structure of our country today puts us in a position where it seems that there must be war to have jobs. We as Negroes have found that this is not true. We have found that in different parts of the country, different means are used against us to keep us from these jobs. For instance, the present war, or the present march towards war, is one that is absolutely scientific.

It means that the Negro naturally in most instances is isolated or the absolute door is closed against him. We find that in inland places the Negroes have a thing that they call the loyalty oath; and since I am from the Pacific Coast I would like to tell you of one that we, the Negro, with some of our white allies have been faced with on the Pacific Coast for over a year. We call it screening and it's not the Hollywood kind. The Negro people for the first time in the history of this country, have been declared subversives toward the country and the whole group of us are out to overthrow the government and sell it all away. This act has been used against us on the West Coast, in most instances, like the Maritime Industry where we have the majority of our workers Negroes who are seamen or dock workers.

We in attempting to go to work on the docks or sail the ships on the Pacific Coast now we're screened by the Coast Guard. Naturally there is a different system used for the seamen and a different system used for the dockers. The seamen have to go through one screening process, but the dockers have to go through two processes; the Coast Guard and the Navy. We found by attempting to get the absolute facts with the help of the research directors and lawyers that 65% of all persons screened from these ships and from the docks are Negroes. Now the reason for this is a point that I attempted to make in the first opening of this, that with the country being geared toward a war we're being told on the Pacific Coast in so many ways that if we don't support this war or if we don't say to our fellow worker you support along with us, that we are to be taken off the ships and taken off the docks. The procedure used against the Negroes here is a nickel in the telephone slot to the Coast Guard and bingo you have no more job.

We naturally here from the Pacific Coast have come almost in a mass body, each person with an individual resolution. We found, after comparing notes, I am very happy to find, that the entire act of the screening has been put into a resolution. The convention as such will be presented

SAM PARKS — U.P.H.W. of A. CIO

with this resolution and attempt to help and see that the war economy as far as the Negro people are concerned, not only on the Pacific Coast but all over this country, is put into a position where we, the Negroes will not have to support a war in which we the Negroes get nothing, but also that we will be able to get jobs, the jobs we are entitled to as American citizens and live, we hope, in a peaceful world. I don't think I have much more to cover on this point, after being told the amount of time is so short I am fully convinced that using screening as an example on the Pacific Coast those of you who happen to be in other parts of the country must be faced with a situation that happens to be the same but under a different name.

With that I would like to thank you for your attention, and ask you that when such a resolution is presented before the Convention, you support it with all of your might and do everything which is humanly possible after supporting to see that something is done so that we the Negro people should be able to get the jobs which we have earned and do deserve. (*Applause.*)

CHAIRMAN:

The Brother opened the discussion of the Job Panel by briefly reporting on the war economy and its effect on the Negro in regard to acquiring jobs. He gave an exact picture as to what's happening on the West Coast, to a screening process put up there I assume by the Federal Government; and most of the people that are screened and not given jobs are Negroes. In essence for you that did not hear this was the picture projected. Most of you from every locality here have some similar situation. I know last week, being in the Motor City, I heard of people being laid off there. It's a cause for the layoff. In industry throughout the country, unemployment is rising. Most of the people unemployed, as always, have been the Negro people. On this particular subject I would like to open the floor for discussion and ask you as delegates to come forward. As you stand to speak, state your name, your union and where you are from. So the floor is now open for discussion on this particular subject.

OLIVER H. GREGORY:

My name is Oliver H. Gregory, I am from Charleston, West Virginia. I am a member of the United Mine Workers of America, Local 2236, District 617, Southern West Virginia. I am a bituminous coal miner. I have been a coal miner for the past 23 years, am married and have four children; and I find the same conditions exist-

ing in the coal field as you find in any other industry in the country.

On the particular job where I work, being employed by the Winifred Coal Collieries, at Winifred, West Virginia, when time comes to eliminate a job it is always the Negro who loses the job. Twenty-seven months ago today, when I went to work for the Winifred Coal Collieries there was 125 Negroes on the job and 67 whites; today it is exactly the reverse. There is 125 whites on the job and 67 Negroes—and there is a reason for that. It is the American capitalistic way of doing things that is causing our sisters and brothers to suffer. In West Virginia, as in all other states of this union, we find that Negro men and women are suffering from the loss of employment whilst the uneducated, the white person who is incapable of taking care of the job that I can take care of is given preference of the work. And I believe through the founding of this National Negro Council of Labor, that if we are conscientious in our objectives that we can eliminate it. (*Applause.*)

And until we stand together as union men and women who believe in social and economic equality for all, we will all sink together. And as a delegate to this convention, I am pleading with you on bended knees to come to our rescue, both black and white. I know the Brother who preceded me on the rostrum here was telling the truth because I have traveled in about twenty states in this union, and I find this condition existing in each state among the Negro workers. The most ignorant white worker we have is elevated above the most intelligent Negro worker we have. And if that is a form of democracy, then deliver me from democracy. (*Applause.*) I do not desire to make a racial

OLIVER GREGORY — U.M.W. of A. Local 2236 Dist. 617

issue but the racial issue has made itself. And as Brother Hood spoke here earlier this evening, if we don't do something about it, no one else is going to do it. I thank you. (*Applause.*)

HARRISON:

From Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, steelworker, Local union #1308, C. I. O. from District 19. I am a laborer with twenty-seven years of service for one company, a record unblemished by reports of the company for which I work.

Twenty-three years ago, or twenty-seven years ago to be exact, I came North seeking a chance to increase my living standard. I was told by the corporation that if I came and gave honest service and showed that I had the ability, that I could have a chance for advancement. I was listed as a laborer. After twenty-seven years of hard service, I still remain a laborer. I resented certain actions by the company and the union officials to take up

certain issues regarding the upgrading of Negroes. For this I was penalized, and finally ousted.

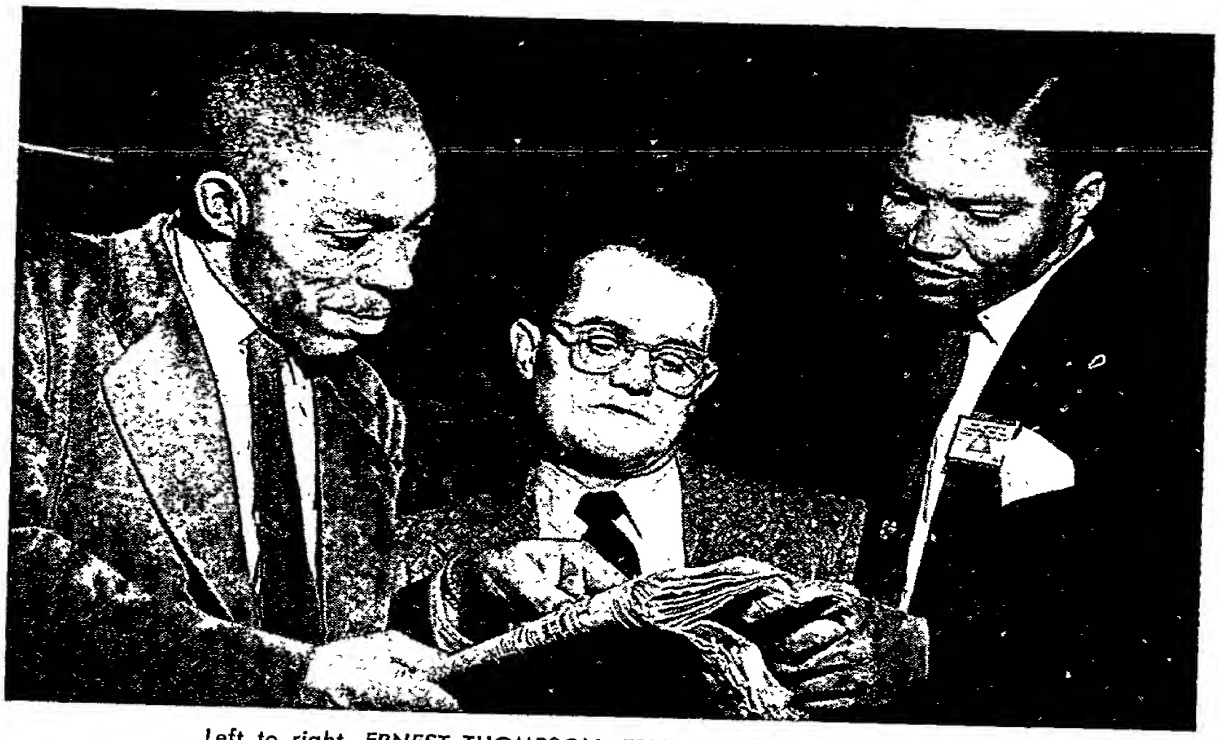
I might recite to you one instance, not because it is important to me as an individual, but because as a Negro, it would affect you too. I was only about five years away from my pension, which would amount to about $100 per month, and an insurance which amounted to about $3,000. The Company had an agreement with the union to pay certain salary increases on certain jobs after they had been re-evaluated to pay a wage known as differential wages which amounted to about $30,000, for about 20 workers. The company played ball with this particular issue over a period of two years. The union officials of this particular local took an attitude of complacency, and did not force the issue. I as an individual seeking chance of advancement of my people and myself and family saw an opportunity to fight. I did so, by-passing the officials of the union for the reason that they would not fight for me or my people. So after some great battles, we the workers there, twenty in number, on this particular job won for these workers $20,000. In doing so the Company says to me, "Harrison, you're sticking your nose into something that does not concern you and you'll pay." So on the day we were to receive our wages one of the company officials said to me, "You are going to get $550 back pay." I was happy—that was big money in anybody's bank. But I received $1.27. I knew then what he meant by being penalized.

I had no one to fight my battles for me because of the enemy that had begun to creep into the union among the official staff because they thought I became too nosey. This may be unimportant as an individual; nevertheless you my friends, both white and black, unite to fight against discrimination, against segregation, against all forms of oppression. The day is not far hence when you'll be pushed out and left with no security. That is the very basis for exploitation, and Jim Crowism, and segregation. When that is done, when you and I, white workers and black workers unite to eliminate discrimination, outlaw Jim Crowism, every black man in this country can point to Old Glory with pride and say, "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." (*Applause.*)

TED SHIP, *U.P.W., Local* 20:

Our first speaker spoke of screening, on the West Coast. I'd like to open with a law that came into effect before screening became effective. Loyalty Order, Executive Order 8935, which was a loyalty order against Federal workers, causing them to sign an affidavit proving their loyalty to the Federal Service in order to be an employee of the Government. This order became effective in 1947 and since that time many such orders have sprung up in our cities, states and throughout the country.

But our subject is jobs or the effect of war economy. The effect of war economy in the federal service is something I'd like to speak on. Recently, in New York City, about 400 general service employees, the employees that clean the buildings, operate elevators and do the handy work around the buildings were laid off for economy reasons. Throughout the country, over 4,000. This is false economy because there is money to pay these peo-



Left to right, ERNEST THOMPSON, ERNEST DeMAIO, JAMES WATT

ple, the buildings need cleaning so somebody has got to do the work. The majority of these people are Negro workers, therefore this lay-off has affected nearly 4,000 Negro workers throughout the country.

In the professional positions in the government, there are few, and very few, you'll find only a handful of top position Negro workers. It's not because they're ineligible for the jobs, because they are not hired from the register; they have a choice of one out of three and the Negro employees are overlooked in choosing for these positions. Recently in the past year there were two psychiatrists in one branch in one agency of the Federal Government in New York, two Negro psychiatrists. Six months ago these two Negroes were fired because they were the last hired. That is the role of our government.

Only about two weeks ago an agency that employed about 1,500 employees, about two thirds of them being Negro workers, was moved out of the City of New York, consolidating the agency to another city. These Negro workers are out of jobs. The reason for this move was to save about 2 million dollars a year. But let's take the cost of the moving the files and the moving of the families that would accept the transfer and the training of new employees that wouldn't accept the transfer. When and where is the government going to save this 2 million dollars? These are the effects of the war on the Negro worker. We call upon this Council to go to our representatives, to our President and see that such economy moves—false economy moves—are stopped. Next year is election year, let's see that these false economists don't return to their positions in Washington. Thank you! (*Applause.*)

SPEAKER FROM U. E.

It is absolutely true that a war economy and peacetime economy is affecting the jobs not only of Negro people but everybody. According to the surplus on hand, people are being laid off and jobs are not available. But the Negro people are affected primarily, and mostly so because of their low seniority and in most cases they give the answer "qualification," they do not have the right qualifications. But we in District 4, have decided unique ways of fighting this discrimination. One of our methods, where we find this discrimination, we follow through by sending people back to that plant and making test cases of it; and taking it before the Discrimination Board which is set up in New Jersey. In many cases we have won that, but we have also involved the people in the shop where it comes to qualifications. After all, many of our workers are porters, laborers, sweepers, but we have white brothers in the shop who are qualified to do machine work who take the laborer and porter and during lunch period, during break periods, and show that porter, that laborer, how to do his job. That is what you call labor unity. Many of our shops are doing it. And because of our contract they cannot bring in a new worker; therefore they have to take that man, that laborer, and classify him higher. This is some of the program that we started in our shop and it is spreading with success.

Further than that, this is the actual fact about how to fight discrimination, as far as job hiring is concerned. We started vocational school systems where we can send workers to school to learn these different things. Our Negro workers are taking advantage of it. In the radio industry we are learning them tester, trouble shooter, instead of being just common laborers. They are taking advantage of it, and doing a job. That's the kind of work we are doing in our union to break down discrimination. And I am quite sure that other unions and other community groups can start the same kind of activities as far as vocational system is concerned, as far as learning on the job is concerned, so that we'll have some means and some methods of what Bill Hood brought out this morning that we're gonna fight this discrimination, we're gonna fight this segregation and this bias job-hiring from every angle and with every force that we can possibly get together. So that I think with that kind of a perspective we've got a start to breaking down this discrimination in job-hiring. I thank you. (*Applause.*)

RUDOLPH THOMAS:

Ladies and Gentlemen—my name is Rudolph Thomas, Local 407 of the U. E. of New Jersey. On jobs for Negroes, my shop, which is predominantly the Edison Shop, we have done wonderful things considering the reports I have heard here today. We have the Company starting the program of apprenticeship. And with this apprenticeship we have already had the company institute a Negro to be a tool and die-maker. He will become a full fledged tool and die-maker next month.

We also have, as my Executive Secretary has just told you, an apprenticeship system in the County. We went to the County and we demanded it; that they start an apprenticeship throughout the County for our workers. We didn't put it on the basis of Negro workers but for all our workers,

white or Negro. But because the Negro has always been in the lowest category of work he immediately took advantage of this opportunity. This year we had four people graduate from this class. This year they have started back in September an advanced course, and we in the Negotiating Committee in our Union went to the Company and said to them, "Here 'tis—you want machinists, we have them. Now you're gonna take them out of this shop or you're not gonna git them. We demand that you take the workers from the shop and upgrade them." Of course, we ran into many stumbling blocks. Of course, we became very disheartened; but don't become disheartened, because your union is fighting for you, the union is sticking with you. If they put their shoulders to the wheel we can accomplish the purpose you're setting out to do. And the only way that this can happen is if you also keep behind your leadership.

In my local at the present time I am the only Negro in the leadership; but it is through my efforts and the efforts of the rank and file Negro workers to go to the leadership and say, "Listen here, we want upgrading of Negroes." My president from a small shop has already had a lily-white shop. And at our Executive Board meeting he told us that he was starting to go into negotiations. And to the Executive Board no one mentioned F.E.P.C. So I said, "Listen pa, what're we doing, you haven't mentioned F.E.P.C. going into your contract."

He said, "Well, we'll take it up when we get there."

I said, "We'll take it up here, and we'll take it up now."

And he says to me, "Well, what can we do if the company says 'no,' what can we do?"

And I says, "If the people ain't ready to fight on it you have to be ready to fight on it, because you represent our shop, and you represent our local and this local isn't just our shop. Therefore you're either going to fight on this question or we'll take it before the general membership."

So he agreed that he would take one of our organizers in with him, and talk on F.E.P.C. But I wanted to push him and make him face the problem as it stood. I said to him, "Why don't you take one of the Negro organizers into your shop with you? So therefore let the company say no to him. It will be harder for him to say no to a Negro, we're not hiring Negroes, than it would to you. 'Cause he can say to you well, Carl, you and I are white; we'll fight this thing out amongst ourselves."

He says, "No, no, no, I won't take it that way."

I says, "I know you won't take it that way, it's easier to smooth you over; give you a little sugar so that you'll be sweet and you'll forget about F.E.P.C." So he promised me that he wouldn't like to take a Negro organizer in with him at the time. He claimed that the local shop would have to vote on a negotiating committee. So we did work out the point wherein the first point on the agenda for his contract would be F.E.P.C.

SAMUEL KENNEDY:

My name is Kennedy, Samuel Kennedy. I'm vice-president of District 2, Fur and Leather Workers. The tie-up that I would like to make of the war economy and this job is concerning the manner in which the Loyalty Oath and the F.B.I. is playing on the Negro and the white worker alike.

Part of Delegation from International Fur and Leathers Workers

The war scare — just before the Korean War broke out we had instituted a program of up-grading in leather that caused Negroes to be up-graded to higher-paying jobs in the leather industry in Philadelphia as they had never had before. We got this program working by convincing the white workers in those shops that by discriminating against the Negroes, they were discriminating against the white workers too. Wherein all the white workers that had been there for 15 or 20 years had been kept on menial jobs just like the Negroes had been kept on menial jobs we convinced these older workers that if you help us to put through this program whereby all the steady workers would be up-graded or are put into seniority it would help you. You may call it favoritism but favoritism or not, it is discrimination just the same.

Our program was working swell until the Korean War broke out, and now the liberal whites that I found that used to be glad to stop on the corner with me after working and have a beer, now they're afraid, they have an excuse: they're afraid of being tapped on the back and asked the question, "Why are you interested in Negroes?" That is what the Attorney-General's office has turned the F.B.I. into, a virtual Gestapo spreading fear among the people.

A few years ago we had a meeting of youth at the University of Pennsylvania to discuss the problems of discrimination that was carried on by Lincoln University. When this meeting was called it was attended by several students of the University of Pennsylvania. After the meeting was over the F.B.I. moved in to investigate — oh, no, not to investigate Lincoln U. itself — to investigate these students and ask them that question:

"Why are you interested in Negroes?"

I think that it is time we did something, or made some kind of protest about the F.B.I. spreading fear into the hearts of white people who are liberal to our movement and trying to make them stop that. I thank you. (*Applause.*)

HOWARD MYERS, *District 65, New York*:

I would like to point out some of the inherent dangers to trade unions in the port areas under the Defense Production Act.

Recently President Truman, under the Defense Production Act, said that the ports of New York and San Francisco on the west coast are national security areas. And as we have seen, as brother Al Thibodeaux of San Francisco pointed out, screening under the Navy and Coast Guard is knocking out Negro workers at the rate of 65% from the industry. In addition, these Loyalty screenings are knocking out the most militant trade unionists in the locals and the unions in these areas. And if this trend of screening is not stopped in the waterfront, it will spread.

Already the Defense Production Act administration is refusing to give contracts to those industries, those manufacturers who in the opinion of the Defense Production Act administrators have subversives employed on their jobs, and they will not give contracts to these manufacturers until these so-called subversives are eliminated from the pay-roll. And in 99%, 100% of the time, these so-called subversives and these trade unions in the shops are the most militant, the most loyal, the most militant fighters against Jim-Crow and for the protection of the working standards of the workers throughout the industry. We are facing in these orders underneath the D.P.A. an attempt by the government to make labor fronts out of trade unions, with the Taft-Hartley Act as the law of the labor fronts throughout the land. And we can see that if screening isn't stopped in the maritime industry and if the Defense Production Act of proclaiming emergency areas is not licked in the waterfront, screening is going to move into private industry and knock the heart and guts out of the trade unions and leave the workers defenseless. I urge all of the members here, black and white, and all trade-unionists to unite with the waterfront workers, the dockers, to defeat screening. (*Applause.*)

MARGARET GILMORE, *United Public Workers, Washington, D. C., Bureau of Engraving & Printing*:

I came here because I was *happy* to know that at last we are trying to fight and are going to form a united public front to eliminate second-class citizenship and try to put over a decent F.E.P.C. That is what *we* need in government. It is true the majority of members here are predominantly private industry whereby they have a weapon known as the strike weapon. We have only Congress to depend on to help us in our defense. Therefore you know what Congress does with the F.E.P.C. law, with the Southerners in the forefront to squelch everyone. I can only ask that we out of this convention have a united front strong enough to put pressure on the members of Congress to put through a decent F.E.P.C. law with teeth in it.

I am sorry I do not have time to tell you of the harrowing experiences that the United Public Workers in the Bureau of Engraving have been

through to put over an apprentice program whereby we were successful in cracking the biased lily-white crafts and admitted 35 Negro apprentices in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. Something unheard of until U.P.W. started it in '48. (*Applause.*) And I must say with no conceit, I, a weak woman, was the one who urged my union to fight it because it could be done. The veterans were afraid. The Loyalty Oath has really wreaked havoc with government employees. I cannot get cooperation, not even of the veterans, who went in as apprentices. They disassociated themselves with the union because of red-baiting just before it was time for them to go to press. And what is the result? They have been given a four-year apprenticeship and on the back of it the Bureau of Engraving has recognized 60 white guys from Chicago and brought them to Washington, D. C., gave them 10 days' training and now they are full-fledged journeymen printers. By the time these boys finish their four years' apprenticeship, there will be NO jobs for them. They will go through the routine and that is all. The lily-white crafts are closed to them in the Security Exchange in Philadelphia and the New York Bank Note Company. They will have no jobs.

Not only did it affect these men who are hoping to become printers, but it has affected the rank and file of the Negroes in the Bureau, in the government entirely. The war economy has reduced us in grade level, and those in the first grade level have been thrown out into the street to seek jobs as best they can, veterans and civilians alike. So you see what we have got to do. Flowery speeches will not do it. We have got to work, do foot-work, get together, form a united, solid phalanx and crush this ugly discrimination and prejudice. We are sick and tired of second-class citizenship. That is what I want to see done. And that is what we have got to do. (*Applause.*)

FOUNDRY WORKER, *Local* 599:

I have a problem. I want to point out the problem that I have in brief. I have — we have what is called a lily-white organization with no cooperation with 85% of the foundry workers, Negroes. It just so happened we passed a motion Friday night in our local meeting that delegates be sent to the Negro National Founding Convention. It was passed unanimously and the president of our local turned it down and consequently since there are no colored brothers on the staff throughout Local 599—all lily-white because of sabotage, I point out—we were given no support, the same identical thing that happened in the Willie McGee case. Three of us went to Washington on our own accord, by taking up collections and taking money out of our own pay-checks, to represent the Negro brothers in that struggle in Washington in the fighting for Willie McGee.

The same identical thing has happened today. It's from my local here, in which I represent in the foundry 85% strong, with not one dime contributed from the local, and I just wanted to point out some of the problems in brief that we were having there; and maybe this is not tied in with the war economy because it was pointed out there wouldn't be any defense work in the foundry and they had a mass lay-off Friday, and another one the following Monday. So, in

brief, I'll cut my statements short and I'll just point out the highlights of what I wanted to say. I thank you. (*Applause.*)

HELEN LUNELLY, *reporter for panel on Negro women in industry*:

As one of the thousands of the Negroes that President Hood spoke of this morning during his address — as one of the thousands of Negro women that was forced out of the factories after the war and was unable to get jobs any place but as domestic workers, I would like to speak to you today about the domestic workers. I'm proud to be here as a delegate to this convention on the subject.

Nearly 2 million Negro women are classed as gainful workers. How many now have jobs? How many are unemployed? How do these wages compare with the white women workers? These are the questions that must be answered by the convention now. On the whole most women, white or Negroes, work for a living, not because they want to work, but because they have to work to support their families, or help support their families, and the reason that the majority of Negro women work is because of the low wages of their fellow man, the Negro man, in general. The Negro woman was limited to two fields where work was largely unskilled and heavy: agriculture and domestic worker. More than six thousand domestic employees in private homes, and 25 thousand in laundries — not laundries, I mean doing laundry work in private homes, about 18 thousand housekeepers, more than 11 thousand charwomen. The number of Negro women in domestic and personal service in 1930 is a gain of nearly 50% from 1920. Negro women in household employment increased by 81%.

What about these working conditions of today? We have from the common household and according to the few recent accounts on the subject that are available, low wages and long hours. The wages that the women are making today run around $5 a day for day work and from $20 to $25 a week for weekly work. And one of the neglected things of the trade union of the Negro women has been not only to fight against the misuse of the Negro woman in domestic work but not to organize the domestic workers. It is merely lip-service from progress of the unions. We, the Negro women, are sick and tired of working out at other homes, and not being able to stay in our own kitchens and do our work. We expect this great Labor Council to see that the doors of the offices and factories be open to us. While this struggle takes place we feel that the Council must take all possible steps to see that domestic workers will be organized so that our conditions and wages will be livable. (*Applause.*)

RALPH ANDERSON, *23-year old Veteran, (reporter for Panel on Youth)*:

I'd like to say before I begin my short report that it is indeed an honor to be here at this historic convention, and that I am honored that I have been selected to give the opening report on the problems of youth and the fight for jobs — of Negro youth in the fight for jobs.

The fight for jobs for Negro youth is an important, and should be a key issue in the National Negro Labor Council's program for action. Negro youth are forced to accept menial jobs in many industries and denied ap-

prenticeship training for higher classifications. The unions must assume major responsibilities in the fight for jobs for Negro youth. This must be fought on and recognized by the unions as essential for the solidarity and well-being of all labor. It is a major contribution to the fight for first-class citizenship for Negro youth.

The leading unions of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. bear major responsibility for not having fought for jobs for Negro youth, and also for representation in all posts of the union. In a few of the larger unions of A.F. of L. and C.I.O., Negroes are run only for traditional Negro posts, such as recording secretary and treasurer. The unions must see that the fight for jobs for Negro youth and for upgrading and that the fight for integration of Negro youth in all posts of the union is their major responsibility. The lack of fight for integration of Negro youth in all phases of various industries and the unions is an acceptance of the weapons of the bosses of superiority of the white workers. And dividing the workers is the means of jeopardizing the working conditions and standards of all labor, by forcing Negro youth to accept low standards. To the degree that labor fights for full integration of Negro youth in the various industries and unions, will the leadership of the Negro be insured and therefore the whole fight for first-class citizenship for the Negro youth. The Negro youth are the most exploited sections of labor in this regard.

Today in getting jobs, the Negro youth is not even considered for many jobs because of their 1-A draft classification. They are blackjacked because of this 1-A classification to accept the lowest paying and the dirtiest job. The bosses say that that is their business, who they hire, and in many cases the unions accept this and refuse to fight for the upgrading and apprenticeship training of the young Negro youth. This applies doubly to the Negro women who are not considered for many jobs and then only in a domestic or janitorial sense.

The Negro youth today faces a future of despair and frustration. They are denied jobs, jim-crowed and lynched at home and Jim-Crowed and killed fighting for a non-existent freedom abroad. (*Applause.*) The bosses use dope and other corrupting things to prepare the youth to accept this future of despair and frustration. Their playgrounds and recreation centers are closed and denied them. The National Negro Labor Council must take a special approach to the youth to win them to a united fight for jobs and first class citizenship.

One positive example of the correct way of Negro youth fighting back is epitomized, is symbolized by a young Negro, Roosevelt Ward. He is a young Negro from New Orleans who is now the organizational secretary of the Labor Youth League, an organization of young Negro and white workers fighting for the best interest and for the vital interest of the Negro youth. To fight for the best interest of the Negro youth today, is the whole fight for peace. This Negro youth, the leader of the New York Labor Youth League was indicted by the government on the first charge of draft evasion. The real fact in this indictment though was not draft evasion but the fact that he spoke out militantly and fought for the unity of Negro and white youth in the fight for jobs, against discrimination and for peace. And today he is out on $15,000 bail,

waiting a jail sentence of three years for this trumped-up charge in Louisiana.

The National Negro Labor Council has to take a special approach to the youth to win them to this united fight for peace and jobs and I like to make a proposal along these lines that there should be Youth Committees established in all communities where there is a National Negro Labor Council Chapter.

All labor must unite in the fight for jobs for Negro youth regardless of their military classifications, because the fight for the rights of Negro youth to jobs and especially the whole fight for peace is essential to prevent Truman carrying out, under the guise of a war emergency, the complete destruction and annihilation and civil liberties of all the American people, and the undermining of the living standards of the American working class because of this phony war drive. (*Applause.*)

VIOLA BROWN, reporter for the panel on Negro oppression in the South:

Let no one be fooled. The fact that the thirteen Southern states are under the political and economic control of the huge Wall Street monopolies allied with the Southern landlord reaction is a serious threat to the entire labor movement.

No unions anywhere will be safe until organized workers in the North join with the Southern workers in a concerted drive to crack through, in the South, against the common enemy —the Northern bosses. There will be no security for anyone, nor any civil rights, nor any real right and ability to organize anywhere in the country as long as millions of Southern workers remain unorganized and especially while nine million Southern Negroes suffer under special Jim Crow oppression.

Who controls the South today? The Northern bosses, in alliance with the Southern landlords control the corrupt political machines which terrorize the workers with police, courts and Klan. The same reactionary coalition poisons the white workers' minds with racist propaganda through the schools, press and radio which they dominate. In this way, they immobilize many of the white workers and use them as instruments to assist in the special oppression of the Negro workers.

Their monopoly of economic, political and social power enables them to sweat super profits out of the Southern workers, white as well as Negro. With these super-profits, they beat down the workers in Pittsburgh, Cleveland and Detroit. In many instances where Northern workers threatened the bosses' profits, the factories have been moved to the South. More and more they are being built in the South to begin with, to take advantage of the low wages prevailing there.

On the political side, what progressive legislation is possible while the bosses' political monopoly in the South sends a solid reactionary bloc of Congressmen to Washington? A key role in passing the Taft-Hartley law was played by the Hooeys, Byrds, Rankins and Bilbos. In the un-American Committee, in the movement for thought-control legislation, the political stooges of Southern reaction have led the pack. At present, one of the greatest threats to the labor movement is the proposed alliance between the Dixiecrats and the most fascist-minded Republicans.

As long as the South remains unorganized, it will be the main base of

Left to right, JAMES YOUNG, MRS. EULA FRAZIER, MRS. DICAY CANNON

fascism in the country, always reaching out for allies in the North and West, always threatening to sweep over and smash everything which the workers have gained.

And this is the importance the South has for all of us, for the Negro people, for the workers of America. And this is why we believe it is so important for us here to consider what has been happening to labor in the South since the war.

During the war and immediately thereafter, Southern workers moved ahead in building unions with considerable speed. In city after city where there were large numbers of Negro and white workers—workers who had left the farms during the depression—unions were built, AFL, CIO, and Independent.

In our state, North Carolina, during 1943 and 1944 the workers in the huge Reynolds Camel cigarette factories in Winston Salem and in the leaf house industry in that city were able to force contracts from the companies for the first time in history. In furniture, leather, textile, and wood, workers built unions.

In Richmond, Virginia in food, tobacco, leather, paper; in Suffolk, Virginia in peanuts and candy; in Charlestown, S. C. in the huge cigar plant of the American Tobacco Company and in the fertilizer plants; in Georgia in cotton oil, fertilizer, packinghouse, textile, furniture; in Nashville and Memphis, Tennessee; in Little Rock, Fort Smith, Helena, Arkansas. in Greenville, Vicksburg, Corinth, Jackson, Mississippi; in Alabama, in Louisiana and in Texas. Yes, all over the South during the war, Southern workers began to join and build unions.

For two years after the war, from 1945 through 1947, under the impact

of the huge CIO Southern Organizing Committee's drive, thousands more workers formed unions. In the first years of the drive there was a working unity between the so-called "left-wing" and "right-wing" in CIO. And there was unity on the local level in many instances between the AFL and the CIO and the Independents. In some instances what resulted took on the aspect of a real mass surge of the workers; comparable to the movement of the workers in the late thirties into the new CIO industrial unions.

In my local in five different towns in the Eastern part of North Carolina in the tobacco-sharecropper belt, more than 10,000 workers voted for our union in three months in the fall of 1946. Hundreds of others voted for the AFL. Rank and file workers, like myself, from Winston-Salem moved into those towns that summer, along with the CIO staff. What developed was a great, broad movement—and this right in the heart of the black belt where in county after county our people, the Negro people, are in the actual majority. The movement was so strong that the bosses didn't try to meet us head-on. Of course, they did everything they could to threaten us and harass us.

In the tobacco redrying plants, where the tobacco is prepared for storage, almost all of the workers are Negro workers, 75% of them Negro women. How do they live the year around? Two or three months a year they work in the factories. Some of them make less than $200. A very few over $400. For many of them this is the only cash money they get all year, except for a few dollars a week unemployment compensation!

Others work in the fields in the spring, planting tobacco and in the summer, cultivating. They go out again in the mid-summer for a few days to harvest strawberry, bean and potato crops. In the late summer they help pick the tobacco and cure it in the farmers' barns. And then they go into the plants for a few months work, at 12 hours a day and 56 hours a week.

Some of them work this way. For many, many others there is nothing. The Chamber of Commerce in Wilson, N. C., in a folder they send out to the bosses describes the situation this way: "Most of the colored population work in the tobacco industry or in service though they are available for other types of industry as well, especially from Thanksgiving through August of the following years" (!) IN OTHER WORDS, FROM THANKSGIVING THROUGH AUGUST, MOST OF THEM ARE UNEMPLOYED!

In 1946, most of the elections were won in the middle or at the end of the short season. We had only a few weeks left. While we were not able to force contracts that season, work stoppages and workers' delegations did force wage increases of up to 10 cents an hour. And the next fall, just after the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, we were able to win contracts in 22 different plants. These contracts were won by Negro workers' committees meeting in the Companies' offices where formerly no Negro worker was allowed unless he was doing janitor work. They included wage increases, seniority rights, grievance procedures with shop steward systems and arbitration, paid vacations, call-in pay, no-discrimination clauses, improved rest rooms, drinking facilities and working conditions.

After we left the plants in 1946 and before we went back in 1947, we challenged the entire system that had

been used by the Unemployment Compensation Commission to deny the Negro women their unemployment pay and to force them into the kitchens at a few dollars a week.

This is the way it worked: When one of the Negro women workers came to apply for compensation, she would be referred to a domestic job at as little as $2 a week. If she refused, she was penalized. This way, hundreds of Negro women for years had been faced with the choice of either losing their unemployed pay or working in the kitchens for next to nothing.

In 1947 the women refused to accept any job that paid less than $15 a week. Hundreds were denied compensation. The union hired an attorney, organized pressure and appealed the cases. Almost every single case was won, along with thousands of dollars in back compensation due them. The result was that compensation was no longer denied thousands of Negro women—and at the same time the minimum pay for domestic workers was raised by $8 to $10 a week.

I have given these facts about these struggles in some detail because they are the struggles of one of the very few large groups of organized Negro workers in the black belt. And also because what we did there, the workers all over the South were doing in the years during the war and for two years thereafter.

Beginning in 1947, however, and continuing on to this very day, the picture is a far different one. Taft-Hartleyism and its follower "McCarthyism" set in. The joint AFL-CIO committee disbanded. The CIO itself was split from the top in a wild spree of witch-hunting. Leaders who had stood up to the bosses toe to toe in 1946 began to get careful, conservative, AFRAID. And the bosses, seeing the great effect of their campaign to break fighting unionism, began to get bolder and bolder.

Not that the bosses have had their way since 1947 in the South. The workers have continued to fight and they have struck some good blows, too. But, by and large, it has been the bosses who have been on the offensive. Wherever a new group of workers tried to organize, the bosses fought back with new viciousness. Unions, including the great CIO organizing drive, began to abandon their attempts —or wasted their money trying to raid and destroy the so-called "progressive" unions. Some locals the bosses have destroyed. Some they have driven toward "company unionism." Some, fortunately, have been able to stand and fight, and, at least up to today, to maintain their unions.

We in the East, for example, struck a hard blow in our campaign to improve the Unemployment Compensation laws in our state. This fight was climaxed in 1949 by an open hearing in the State Senate in Raleigh before some hundred legislators. More than 20 Negro women tobacco workers took the floor, and one by one poured out their grievances. "Why," they asked, over and over again, "in a rich state like ours must so many who are willing to work and who do work, live in poverty and misery?" The legislators who had probably come "to enjoy a show," sat in silence and respect and listened as these women brought a new kind of atmosphere to that machine-ridden legislature. The number of weeks pay was extended and the weekly payments were increased.

In Winston Salem in 1947 the Negro people elected a Negro as city councilman, for the first time since

the turn of the century . . . and the workers in Suffolk and Richmond, Virginia; Fayetteville and Greensboro, North Carolina followed suit. In the South's cities and in the black belt counties in 1948 and since, Negro workers have run for county and state and even federal offices.

Other blows, too, have been struck by Negro workers all over the South, but the bosses have taken the initiative in most instances. And they have fought organized white workers as well as Negro workers. Consider the vicious fight against the white textile workers in our state. In Tarboro, in the black belt, where the Negro and white workers fought shoulder to shoulder, the bosses used the police, the courts and everything they could lay their hands on. After many months the workers were finally forced to go back without a contract—while many of their leaders went to jail.

Many huge locals have been all but wiped out—in textile, furniture mine-mill and tobacco. In Winston-Salem, for example, the powerful Local 22 in Reynolds and the leaf-houses have been almost destroyed in Reynolds, even though the workers in two of the leafhouses have been able to hold on. In Reynolds, some 2,000 Negro women workers with as much as 20 years seniority have been thrown on the streets, replaced by new machinery and the speed-up. They are denied jobs in the manufacturing divisions which are practically lily-white, while young white workers are being hired in off the same streets. Some of these women were then given jobs in the seasonal redrying plants—and forced to accept hourly cuts of 30 cents, plus the loss of insurance and pension rights and the right to draw unemployment insurance. Many of them, being Negro and middle-aged, can find no jobs of any kind.

This same pattern is being carried out all over the cigarette industry in the South, in the plants organized into the Jim Crow AFL Tobacco Workers Union as well.

Many years ago when the cigarette and smoking and plug tobacco industry was a hand industry and heavy, the large majority of the workers were Negro. In 1946, of the 10,000 employed in Reynolds some 6,000 were Negro. Today only 3,000 are Negro out of 10,000—and most of these are in the heavy shipping jobs, the first processing jobs and the jobs which haven't as yet been completely mechanized.

The result is that Winston Salem is a center of great unemployment. There are between 2,000 and 3,000 Negro women unemployed the year round. *And with these unemployed workers as a threat, the Company speeds up and threatens with immediate discharge any worker who attempts to build a union, Negro and white alike. This is the pattern that the bosses are developing in the South: Large numbers of unemployed—with white unemployed, too — and all of them standing over workers left in the factories, to help keep them unorganized and working at lower and lower wages!*

In Bessemer, Alabama, the powerful Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers local has been taken over by the Company Union forces in the name of the Steelworkers-CIO. The strength of the union has been gutted, even though the Negro workers there, as in Winston Salem, have maintained some kind of independent organization.

In our local we are holding on. Where we had 22 contracts in 1947

we now have only 15. And in other locals, where the workers have refused to give in to company-unionism, they are holding on, maintaining their conditions, winning some increases but not being able to strike solid blows for really significant advances, except where they work for a large nation-wide corporation and win gains through nation-wide bargaining.

Where do the workers in the South who are organized stand today? Like all workers we are fighting back against the general attack the bosses have launched against all workers: against Taft-Hartleyism and company unionism, against the McCarran Act and Smith Act thought control, against the high price, high tax, wage freeze war program.

But in addition, we suffer in many special ways. Even the 10% wage freeze hits us the hardest: because we are the lowest paid and so discriminated against. And in the first processing industries where thousands of Negro workers are employed, we must work 12 hours a day and 56 hours a week for 14 weeks each year WITHOUT OVERTIME! The bosses excuse this super-exploitation by saying that the tobacco and cottonseed and peanuts are *perishable products*. They need these long hours to save *their* perishable products. We have been asking for a long time which is the most "perishable," the tobacco and cottonseed and peanuts or the Negro workers who slave in these factories?

Even the money we earn is jim-crowed. We can't spend it where we want to spend it. We are denied justice by the law and the courts. Worse, we live constantly under the threat of violence by the law enforcement agencies themselves if we raise our voices in protest.

No new organizing, many locals being destroyed, some locals holding on . . . that is the picture in the South today whether we like to admit it or not. But we might just as well face up to it—and then, knowing the truth, we can decide what we can do about it.

And that is the problem which I, as a Negro delegate from the South and from the black belt in the South wish to place before this body for its deliberation here today.

What about the South, the home of nine million Negro people, the seat of our peoples oppression? Are we going to see the unions that do exist today destroyed? Are we going to sit by and see the South remain a great cancer of unorganized workers which will eat and destroy all of the unions in the nation? What is the attitude of your union toward the unorganized South?

There are many, many different attitudes to this serious problem.

There are leaders of some unions who don't want to have anything to do with the South because they don't want Negro workers in their unions. And there are others who are comfortable and who just don't want to be bothered.

There are a number of union leaders, too, who think like the bosses. When a boss builds a plant or opens a shop, he is building the shop to make a profit, from his workers' labor. Where there is no profit, he closes up the shop. Some union leaders think this way. If they can't see an immediate return on their investment in the form of dues payments, they are eager to withdraw from organizing the unorganized.

Others say they are willing to help and understand the need to help, but

they never seem to get around to it. Other considerations always come first.

Still others say they will help when the workers in the South show that *they* are ready to struggle. As if the Negro people in the South with their history and with their courage to fight had to prove to anyone in this country that they are willing to fight and that they are fighting! Consider this proposition in relation to the white workers in the South, many of whom don't understand the need for unions and for unity with the Negro workers and who must be WON to these ideas? Doesn't it mean leaving these white workers to the organizers for the Ku Klux Klan and the Dixiecrats and leaving them without a struggle?

There are other attitudes, too, toward the South and organizing in the South. But unfortunately, with few exceptions, they lead to the same conclusions and results: The result is that hardly anything is being done in a serious and responsible way toward aiding Southern workers build their unions and almost nothing is being done to win the white workers to the need for unions and the need for unity with the Negro workers in their plants.

We in the South think that organized workers in this country where there are strong unions and adequate finances must join with the worker in the South and accept their fair share of the responsibility for beating back the forces of reaction on the unorganized Southern front.

These workers must do it in their own self-interest. For the fact of the matter is that the same reactionary forces that are destroying our unions in the South today will destroy your union tomorrow . . . no matter how big your building or how large your treasury.

We in the South think that this National Negro Labor Council should raise this warning all over the nation.

Yes, first of all we should go forth determined to break Jim Crow now and fight every form of discrimination. And we should ask every trade union member and leader in this nation what are you doing to fight Jim Crow and discrimination and for jobs for the Negro people?

But in the same breath, we should also ask them what are you and your union doing about the unorganized South, the home of nine million Negro people, five million of whom live in counties where although they are in the majority, they have no voice in the government, no land and no security?

In the same breath we should ask them: Is there a plant in the South in your union's jurisdiction which is unorganized? What are you doing to bring unionism to its workers?

This body should ask unions this question and demand an answer.

We think that we as the National Negro Labor Council should let it be known that any union, AFL, CIO, or Independent which tries to bring honest, decent, non-discriminatory unionism to the South will receive our whole-hearted support.

We need not continue to be driven backwards in the South. We need not let the South remain an *unorganized* base for *us* and an *organized* base for *reaction* and *fascism*. We in the South believe that a turn can be made . . . if, together, we see that a turn *must* be made . . . and if, together, North and South, we begin to make it.

CULTURAL PROGRAM

Saturday Evening, October 27

MARGARET GOSS:

There's only one thing wrong with this conference today. I haven't heard the word Culture mentioned enough. What we're doing tonight is showing you how Culture can be used as a weapon—How Culture can be used to say the same things that you've been saying all day in speeches. We are going to try to say it for you in humorous sketches, in poetry and in the dance. We hope that you will use the same initiative that we did. No one asked us to be on this program. We knew that this Convention was coming off and we decided to prepare for it and we came and here we are. (*Applause.*)

When Beulah Richardson read her outstanding poem in Chicago several months ago it started a lot of us thinking about using poetry as a weapon. And this poem, "Everybody But Me" is the result of the inspiration that I got from her—some of the thoughts about fighting for freedom:

"You say that you believe in Democracy for everybody, Yes, I know, for dogs and cats and others and everybody, Everybody but me.

In high sounding words and musty oratory, on Washington and Lincoln's birthday,

You government officials, major and minor, effuse bright praise to our country and all of her glory,

How it was founded and will always be a haven of the free and I sitting up there listening to you applauded and cheered with all the rest,

But I was one mighty surprised soul to see when it came to the test that you did mean everybody,

Everybody but me.

Sure I read all about it in the history books about how the founding fathers got together and wrote the Declaration of Independence cause they didn't want King George stepping on them and even though I play a part in bringing it about—they left me out,

They declared that Independence for everybody

Everybody but me.

They also got together and wrote a Constitution and a Bill of Rights saying that everybody had certain rights and privileges being citizens and that everybody ought to have a job and a place to live and equal opportunity,

But when I tried to get my rights and privileges and a job and a house, I was mighty sorry to find that they really did mean everybody,

Everybody but me.

I went to church every Sunday being a pious person and I heard the preacher talking about heaven and eating milk and honey and wearing long white robes and I felt the spirit and shouted out, shouted out that I wanted to be in the number too.

Suddenly I looked up at the wall saw that all the folks gathered around Jesus had straw blonde hair and sky blue eyes and there wasn't a brother among them, I knew again that they did mean everybody, Everybody but me.

Of course as far back as I hear tell about there have been times when

they needed helping out, this is when they had a war and then they sent out a call for everybody, they knew what to use me for and I found that they really did mean everybody, including me.

My father told me that in World War I they sent out a call for everyone including me and we had to go over to fight the Kaiser to keep the world free and safe for Democracy for everybody,

When I got home I was hurt to find that they really did mean everybody, Everybody but me.

Well putting two and two together you and I can plainly see that those folks down in Washington have never been thinking of you and me, from here on I'm going to be thinking about me, I'm going to get together with you and my sisters and brothers black and white all over the country and over the world and we're going to put up a terrific fight until we win and we will and when we say peace and freedom for everybody it will mean everybody, everywhere

It will mean me. (*Applause*)

ROBESON

I just want to say a few words. I'm very happy to be here. I was talking to your President, Bill Hood, a few minutes ago. He was saying how deeply he felt that you the trade unionists of America—from the militant side of our nation were saying to those who would stop us artists from appearing — you were saying to them tonight, "Well Paul's going to sing, he is going to sing right here!" (*Applause*) So I want to thank you to begin with and say that of course not only am I here as an artist, always that — but I am here as an

PAUL ROBESON

artist like many in the world today who give constantly of their talents and energies to the struggles for freedom of the working masses of the world. (*Applause*) And so I feel that I have sort of earned my honorary membership in the Trade Union Councils.

Through the years I've been on your picket lines up and down the nation, I've had many moving experiences. As I came in I saw an old friend from Winston-Salem, Mrs. Velma Hopkins. I remember going down there into the deep South, to help in their struggles. I remember a very sad last time going back to say farewell to one of the great women of the Labor Movement, Miranda Smith. (*Applause*) For a time they said, "Well maybe Paul had better not come into the South," but I went in and came out all right. (*Applause*) And I say tonight as I've said many other times, I don't want any so-called Americans, or un-Americans to tell me that I have not the right to go back to the North Carolina (*Loud*

applause) of my forefathers, that I have not the right to go back and stand upon the very soil where my father was a slave, that I have not the right to go about America and about the earth saying that my people upon whose backs the very wealth of this nation was built—that somewhere they must have their freedom. (*Loud applause*)

For that's all that I've been trying to do and say. And from many parts of the world, you would be interested to know, I get letters daily—especially from England. Just the other day one came saying, "Is it true, Paul that you can't sing, that there is danger when you sing? That you can't play in the theater, that you can't be on the radio and television?" You would be interested to know that in every section of English opinion in the theater, in music, in every field they have begun, as in the case of the Scottish miners, to say to this government: "We want him over here to play "Othello" again. We want to hear him sing again, and we feel that something must be wrong where one who fights as he has over here can not sing in his own land." (*Applause*)

As I said when I was with you in Chicago a year ago, and as I have written in the newspaper *Freedom* many times, somewhere we must see the necessity of unity between all sections of labor in this land and throughout the world. And especially today we must understand the deep struggle of the Negro people in this land for these 300 years. Already you have shown me what I was talking about in Chicago, because I am standing here tonight free with my shoulders back because you have said, "Come to Cincinnati, Paul, and sing for us!" (*Loud applause*) And so I can say to many Americans, "I've been to Cincinnati—to the people of Cincinnati."

The Inquirer must remember one of my last visits here. I was the guest of the City of Cincinnati. (*Laughter*) That's right, I sang in the ball park for the city recreation fund.

Not long ago I stood in Cadillac Square for auto workers, black and white. I stood on the packinghouse line in Chicago with the packinghouse workers and I stand here tonight, therefore, saying let us find unity at this time against those who are stepping upon your necks, who step upon the backs of labor and who step especially upon the backs of the Negro people. (*Applause*) And let us remember, we live in a very historic time. We live in a time when hitherto colonial peoples all over the world are winning their freedom. For a long time it was a pretty easy task for England, for Belgium, for France, for our own imperialist nation—our own imperialists who started out in earnest about the year of my birth. In the year 1898 they went into Cuba, into Puerto Rico, into the Philippines. They had gotten the idea of world domination. But now we see the seething of millions and hundreds of millions of people in motion all over the world. Still some evil people in our own land say there shall be no freedom. They want to fasten a new colonialism on the masses of people.

We have a deep responsibility. Are we going to tell the Chinese people to give back their freedom? They won't you know—no danger of that. (*Laughter*) (*applause*) There are five hundred million of them, you know what I mean, five hundred million—a lot of people. And they are moving along in India, hundreds of millions

who say to Nehru "Stand your ground for the Indian people, don't sell yourself to the imperialists wherever they may be, for you may not be there if you do." (*Laughter*) And, then, there's the whole continent of Africa (I'm proud to be the Chairman of the Council on African Affairs). Every day we receive word by cable. That continent is just seething all over the African continent and they look to us here in Cincinnati, look to their allies in America, to the struggling workers wherever they may be, to stop this government from going over to Africa and trying to put the people back into a kind of serfdom and slavery when they are just about to emerge.

England is calling upon us to save them in Egypt. I see in the paper that our government may have to go to save the British Empire in Egypt. We Negro people and the workers in America must understand that tomorrow the English will be calling upon this government to come and save them in the Gold Coast, to come and save them in Nigeria, to come and save them in a Federation of the West Indies crying for their independence. What will we do then? Will we go? I say, NO, not move a step! (*Loud applause and hurrahs*)

On the other hand we have the responsibiltiy and we have the opportunity to see that these things cannot happen, by doing what? By merging and fighting for our rights, Yes! Our day to day struggles for higher wages, for the rights of labor wherever they may be, for upgrading, for full dignity. And we also must understand that it will be very difficult to achieve these things if we do not enter fully today into the struggle for peace to see that somewhere war does not destroy everybody. Under the guise of war measures they can take away our rights with much more than a Taft-Hartley, much more than the kind of Terror that's going around today.

We've got to understand all these things in the background of the struggle for freedom all over the world. And that's why of course, they want to imprison one of the great symbols of American unity, one of the great scholars of our time whatever his color, one who has given his whole life to the concept and ideas of our true democratic faith. Today they would jail this great man with whom it is my privilege to work day by day. Why would they take Dr. DuBois? Because he fights for peace, because he fights for freedom, because he fights for the full dignity and equality of his people to walk this earth in freedom. (*Applause*) And they want to jail him because they know that if they can shut him up talking about peace, then they can shut you up talking about the freedom of the working people, then they can shut you up talking about the freedom of the Negro people in America.

I just want to leave one more word, it's brought to my mind when I see Mrs. Velma Hopkins and know that many people are here from the South. When we talk about colonial struggles we sit here in certain parts in the North, on the edge of the South here in Cincinnati. I travelled in '48 all over the South. I stood in Memphis and saw the close struggles in many unions. I saw white workers in the South come out on strike to see that Negro workers would get equal pay. (*Applause*) I've seen great opportunities for strengthening unity in this struggle. Let us not forget, therefore, that in talking about the freedom of our people the core of it is there,

where 10 million of our folk are ground under day by day. They look to us, they look to us for full understanding and when we talk about colonial and semi-colonial peoples let us not forget that we in this land, are still, without question, a semi-colonial people. We are fighting against the idea of colonization too. Also in relation to this, don't look at the oppression, look at that potential, that great potential power. Our people know what it means to fight for freedom. I walk on the streets every day and I tell you my people come up and say, "Paul, stay in there, we know you're right, we know you're right." Somebody's got to be there with the people, someone whom people can trust has got to be there to lead them. The people know what's going on. It won't do for the Sampsons, the Grangers, and the Schuylers to be shouting about how good it is for Negroes in the United States today; that they're doing fine, you know. No, they won't get away with that. Somewhere they're not doing fine, but we got to see to it that they *do* do fine. (*Applause*)

We talk about fighting for FEPC, fighting against poll tax or stopping the filibuster. Do you know this Council can get behind all these drives. They're shadow-boxing right now on the Senate floor, trying to get rid of filibuster. Well, you can see that they do get rid of filibuster. Suppose there was an anti poll-tax, anti lynch bill, you know what could happen then, you know what could happen down in Mississippi and down in South Carolina, down in Georgia and Alabama and those places? There could be *other* Senators sitting there, you know. (*Audience says "right" at that point, applause and laughter*) There could be other representatives, you know, from those regions, as like in the days of Reconstruction. There were Negro representatives from those States; you know Mr. Rankin couldn't go along with them. It would have to be some different kind of a fellow to go along. (*Laughter*) So that the whole picture could change, so that when one talks about struggles of Negro people, the struggle for liberation, I see it not as isolating one Negro leader here, one Negro leader there, one woman there, one man there. It's a concept of realizing that all of us are struggling for our freedom; under the same pressures, looking for freedom and some day if we are looking right, you'll see the whole thing move—the whole thing— 4 million, 5 million, 6 million, 7 million. That's the kind of strength that our allies must see when something like the labor Councils are set up.

To somewhere go into the Negro communities to win great sections, millions, to the side of the common working class people for dignity and for a decent life. I have—I can't tell you how proud I am to be with you tonight and to wish you well. To forge this unity deep, so deep that nothing can ever just even touch it a little bit let alone any chance of breaking it. I have great confidence in these councils in the working class movement of America, white and black, to see that somewhere, in our time, this our time, we shall so labor that our children and THEIR children shall work an American earth that we can know and be proud is a democratic earth that WE have helped to build. (*Applause, ovation bursts into "We shall Not Be Moved—Robeson is Our Leader, We Shall Not Be Moved"*)

End of Oct. 27th Session.

PLENARY SESSION

Sunday Morning, October 28

The chairman of this meeting was Brother Sam Parks of the Packing House Workers, chairman of the Negro Labor Council, Chicago, Ill.

SAM PARKS:

Brother Howard and Sister and Brother delegates. On October 27th and 28th, the City of Cincinnati, Ohio will go down in history as one of the milestones in the battle for freedom of the Negro people. Our Convention has had a very good effect on the City of Cincinnati itself. Last week, prior to the Convention, newspapers in Cincinnati, and the newspapers throughout this region, the Ohio region, were carrying certain stories about this coming Convention. The propaganda was very gruesome, red-baiting, Negro baiting, etc. I think most of you will agree with me that's been around in the City when I say that the hospitality that's been extended to the delegates here to our Convention, has been very, very good and very, very warm. I think this is because we held a Convention that's united, that's determined to do a job for the Negro worker in the main, and the white worker. I think as you look over the audience you see so many young faces. I think these determined youth that are here have a lot to do with the hospitality that we are now getting here in this particular city that's on the bordeline of Dixie.

This morning we want to carry the Convention right through without and adjournment for dinner, if you get hungry you can get up and to the lunchroom and get a good ham and potato salad dinner or luncheon and you can chew out there or come back in here and chew, don't chew too loud when you're in here, and we want to carry on out here because we are working under somewhat of a handicap in regards to schedule. We have important things to do and with your cooperation we will accomplish them. I don't want you to accuse me of being a steamroller chairman, but nevertheless we have to be very expedient in the things we undertake this morning. Our program calls for the first thing this morning for a report by the Credentials Committee; and this report will be given by Brother Dave Moore, from the Greater Detroit Negro Labor Council. Will the members of the Credentials Committee please come to the platform. Brothers and Sisters, Brother Dave Moore, Chairman of the Detroit Negro Labor Council.

REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

MR. CHAIRMAN:

Allow me to present to the Convention on behalf of the Credentials Committee our report, and to inform the assembled delegates that the committee carried out its work to the best of its ability. Since many delegates are still arriving we must ask the Convention to accept an approximate report.

In the beginning of this report and in order to place it in its correct perspective, we should like briefly to refer to the period between the Conference for Negro Rights held in Chicago in June of 1950 to the present Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council.

After the Chicago Conference, many chapters of Negro Labor Councils were organized. This period characterized by

the active work of many of the Councils in various cities. A good example of this is the fight carried on by the Greater Detroit chapter to make FEPC legislation a reality in the City of Detroit. It was also characterized by the unity of the various chapters throughout the country. This unity was manifested by the development of the various chapters throughout the country. This unity was manifested by the development of the various chapters to affiliate themselves with one organization; the National Negro Labor Council. There are many of us in the Council who are of different political and religious beliefs. There are many who have different approaches to various problems. But despite our differences in many other problems we are united on the overriding issue of the day that is confronting the Negro people, and that is the issue of Freedom and first class citizenship. Our National Negro Labor Council is a living demonstration of the power and strength of the Negro people and their white allies. The tremendous increase in its membership which has taken place in the last year is a concrete example of our power.

These things can be no better expressed than by referring to the representation in our Convention. The Credentials Committee reports to the Council that there are approximately 898 delegates and 154 observers, representing many trade unions, community groups, peace groups, church groups, and youth groups, making a total of approximately 1,052 participants. We greet with the deepest and most sincere feelings the one who has given us courage, inspiration, and determination to carry on our fight for freedom, our own Paul Robeson.

We greet our National President who has withstood the onslaught of redbaiting, slander, and lies, and other vicious attempts of the reactionaries to make him submit and accept their crumbs to become an Uncle Tom—Bill Hood, Recording Secretary of Local 600.

We greet with deepest feelings the delegates from the South, namely Virginia, Kentucky, Alabama, Louisiana, Missouri, North Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, West Virginia, Maryland, and Washington, D.C., both Negro and white, who defied the white supremacy traditions of the south to attend our convention.

We greet the democratic Fur and Leather Workers Union who sent a large delegation to our Convention and contributed so much to help make our Convention a success.

We will long remember the United Electrical Workers union and their representative, Brother Ernie Thompson, who helped us solve many problems before it was possible to hold the convention.

We greet with the deepest enthusiasm the representatives and the delegates of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, who have just won a great victory over the copper bosses by using their economic strength.

We greet the United Public Workers who sent a large delegation to our convention and whose secretary treasurer is a Negro—Brother Ewart Guinier.

We pay special tribute to the powerful Ford Local 600 UAW, who has set an example for democracy by fighting for the rights of Negroes and electing them to leadership within their local and various units.

Time will not permit the elaboration on all unions and organizations which are represented here today, but the contributions which such labor unions as District 65, DPOW, UAW, ILWU, United Packinghouse Workers, FE-UE, and others have made will be long remembered.

We deeply greet the Women delegates, both Negro and white, of which there are 201 attending our convention.

This report would not be complete unless we greet the growing and glorious youth organizations, the LYL, who have sent delegates to participate in our Convention.

Roosevelt Ward, a Negro leader in the LYL, has been jailed by the government and the LYL is putting up a tremendous fight to secure his freedom.

This Convention has representation from 22 states and many organizations which time will not permit us to name. Before ending this report, however, the credentials committee draws to the attention of the convention the fact that although our convention is widely represented it could have been more so had it not been for the attacks and action of the newspapers, radio, and certain leaders in the labor movement.

But, despite the action of these reactionaries, our convention is a success as we can very well see. In this convention hall today is the living proof of the greatness, the invincibility, and the certain victory of the Negro people to win their complete liberation and freedom. Our convention has shown that the democratic people will play their full part in the great army of the defenders of the rights of all people, united under the banner of National Negro Labor Council for those things expressed so simply and so clearly in the slogan of our convention:

"We move but one way, Forward!
To complete liberation and Freedom!
Equality for all people!"

DAVE MOORE, *Chairman*
MARIE BOWDEN
ETHEL GOODMAN
LYNDON HENRY
JOE GABRITSKY
NED WILSON

(*Credentials Report Adopted*)

SAM PARKS:

And now Brother Meyers, who will make the Report for the Panel on the Fight for Jobs.

MEYERS:

The Panel on the Fight for Jobs in Industry for Negro Workers was chaired by Brother Sam Parks. The first report was given by Brother Al Thibedeaux of the ILWU, San Francisco. He reported on the effects of screening in the Maritime industry and pointed out that for the first time in history, Negroes were called "subversive" and must take loyalty oaths. That 65 percent of the so-called "security risks" are Negroes that are screened and that the dock-workers are checked by both the Coast Guard and the Navy for their loyalty to the war program. In discussion of this report Brother Oliver Gregory of the United Mine Workers Local pointed out that previously in his district 125 Negroes were hired to 65 white workers and that now in the present period, the ratio was reversed. Brother Martin Harrison of Steel, Local 1308 reported that today after 27 years of service in his company, he is still a laborer and that the company did not upgrade Negroes, he was fired from the company because he led a struggle for fight for upgrading Negroes. Brother Ted Ship of Local 20, UPW, pointed out that loyalty program has wreaked havoc in the ranks of federal workers, has driven many workers out of government service, particularly Negro and Puerto Rican workers. Under the guise of war economy, cuts are made in essential social service money and government administration causing layoffs of 400 general service workers and 4,000 workers laid off throughout the country by closing of VA centers. Brother Sam Kennedy of Fur in Phila. pointed out the role of the FBI and how fast it is becoming thought police by harrassing white trade unionists for their support for the full equality of the Negro workers in their trade unions.

All the remarks of the brothers point to the same Jim-Crow, intensification of terror by government agencies to carry out the policies of the bosses and Dixiecrats more openly under the war economy. The present state of the

nation, of slander and smear, of McCarthyism and hysteria, Klan, White Circle League and Dixiecrats agents of the employers can practice more openly 2nd class citizenship for Negro workers, men and women. Brother Ralph Anderson of the LYL, in his report, dealt with the problems of the Negro youth. In pre-war time Negro youths' problems were serious being given the gambit of non-experience, hired for the lowest wages, fired, no apprentionship programs for Negro youth have all been intensified. The 1-A status has become the bosses' excuse for not hiring. If hired at all, the youth are given the dirtiest jobs, under the worst conditions. The bulk of the nation's trade-unions have been derelict in their responsibilities in permitting the undercutting of union standards by the bosses with these kind of practices. Brother Anderson's report on the vicious frame-up of Brother Roosevelt Ward, Negro youth leader, as the government's answer to Negro youth who fight 2nd class citizenship and inequality in industry. Sister Helen Lunelly reported that most Negro women work as domestics. The war-time gains in integration of basic industry have been wiped out in most cases with the acquiesence of the top leadership of AFL and CIO trade-unions. And they look to the NNLC to reopen, and widen, the gates to basic industry.

I want to point out here that the reports on youth and women received no discussion in the Panel due to the lack of time, and I want to recommend that some time be given at this session for discussion. In other discussion from the floor, Negro workers are fighting back with their white allies. UE delegates from District 4 are establishing FEPC programs in their unions and apprenticeship training programs for Negro workers and leading fights for upgrading. In other Unions Negro and white unity on a rank-and-file level are also fighting back. The Panel moved, seconded and carried to be carried to the morning session, resolutions condemning screening in the Maritime industry and proposed a 75c per hour minimum wage law for women workers and I move that these resolutions be adopted. (APPLAUSE)

SAM PARKS:

Joe Johnson, "Joltin" Joe Johnson from the West Coast, a young guy who really jolts and fights for freedom. — Joe Johnson.

JOSEPH JOHNSON, Marine Cooks & Stewards.

Brother and sister delegates. I think you'll agree that the freedom train really got rolling yesterday morning. In the Panel on the Fight for Freedom, we had 3 main topics. Colonialism, Negro Oppression in the South and the Rising Tide of Fascism. Sister Viola Brown, Tri-State Administrative Sec'y made a magnificent report, a tremendous amount of research was done on this report. It was very well accepted by the members on the Panel. James Watts gave his report, linked up the rising tide of fascism with the role that our Council must play at this time. I have the opportunity of reporting on "Colonialism" bringing to the Convention some of my experiences as a merchant seamen in traveling these earth surfaces for the last 15 years. It was generally agreed, brothers and sisters, by the members of the Panel, people present, amounting up to close to 400 people,

Delegation from California — 2nd from right rear, JOE JOHNSON, Marine, Cooks and Stewards

that we have a role to play, that history has placed onto the shoulders of people like us the responsibility of saving ourselves, the responsibility of fighting a monster, a vicious blood-thirsty monster, that would involve us in something that's terrible, that would bring to us a kind of situation that's absolutely intolerable. It's also generally agreed that the people of America are receiving leadership in a new form by that hard-hitting, well-organized minority group known as Negroes. (APPLAUSE)

As the great Frederick Douglass once said, "Let he that would be free, strike the first blow."

Written history and prophets are the things that are guarded the most by the big-shots in our country today because by having control of written history they can shape the future, that's why they will not let the Negro people know the contribution that they have made to building this great country of ours. (APPLAUSE) I'd like to prove it for you. I'd like to prove it. For example, everyone knows that the electric lights, the invention was by Thomas Edison. But an also important invention or discovery, or whatever you might call it, the clock, there is a clock in every American home, but are the children taught in early childhood that an American Negro, Benjamin Bannaker is 1753 built the first clock in our country? They don't teach us that, while the Red Cross, a Ku Klux Klan Red Cross was trying to separate black blood from white blood, it was Howards Drew, a Negro scientist who discovered the use of dried blood plasma. I think these things should be taught to all people in an organized fashion.

We found out that this rising tide of fascism isn't just a word, isn't just a high-flown cliche as some people

might call it but it means absolute and complete control by an organized employer group. And in order for these people to continue to hold on to what they have, they've got to have some kind of system where the truth is denied people. We find all sorts of things that are wrong. (I say the Negro people have a camera on the grievances against existing practices.) And we intend to do something about them. And we're not going to be told by anyone who we can get help from when it comes time to fighting for freedom. As Brother William Hood says, we're too proud. We're out fighting for what is right and just and our program is based on the principles that our country is based on. We must refuse to be called names, friends, refuse to be called names, refuse to be boxed-in. I say it's a shame, a sin and a shame, when the minute we start fighting for freedom, fighting with all our strength, the reactionary forces and their Negro "Uncle-Toms" start waving a red flag around (APPLAUSE) calling us "reds," calling us this, that and the other. Yes, I say that these characters that are shouting "red" don't know Communism from rheumatism and very little bit about unionism.

There's been an attempt, since the time of the ruling forces, I guess, to hold the lives of men in check, "don't think," don't ask questions" just accept what have been given since the time of Caesar. I understand that Caesar made some kind of remark to Cassius, "He has a lean and hungry look, he thinks too much he's dangerous." In the deep South, I understand it was an accepted theory that the Negroes couldn't live in the North because their brains would freeze (LAUGHTER) We've been taught all sorts of foolish things, education has been kept from us and when they can't keep it from us any longer, then they try to distort the facts, omission and distortion of the truth. For a very good modern example, I'm quite athletic so I like to look in the world Almanac for the athletes or somthing like that, every now and then. I saw in a recent publication that 1917 was one of the first years they ever had a 10 man football team. Paul Robeson made the eleventh position, so they left him out. Do you think they are going to get away with that? They can't tell us that our great leaders aren't great fighters, are not going to be known to the Negro people? And friends let me tell you something, don't feel let down, don't feel that you're alone, because you're not alone, you're not alone because we're with the stream and not against it.

I've seen in China and old China, if you please, children dead on the streets like you might see a cat or a dog. I've seen them hold long bamboo poles like nets to a ship an American ship and siphon through to get the garbage to eat on. Seeing them asleep on the streets, people that never actually had a home. And I hear every day in the paper certain people who endorse this kind of set-up against freedom, call Chiang-Kai Shek and rest of the monsters throughout Europe, freedom-loving people of the world and I say friends, remember you can look in the record and find out things like in 1931, Chiang-Kai Shek had a massacre, cut the heads off hundreds of people and hung them on main street where many people were wiped out in attempts to destroy the aspiration of people. I make no bid for any kind of social system at this point brothers and sisters, I say

the peoples of the world will decide what kind of system they want to live under. It's their choice to decide.

In the Suez Canal, since it's under discussion at this point, all through Egypt and places like that. I was there early in the war during the lush years, the salaries of agricultural or dock-workers was five piastres a day or 28 cents. 28 cents a day and they couldn't get the bare necessities of life out of that. In the Philippines today for instance, a ponto or a pound and a half of rice cost 60 cents. The salary of a longshoreman is 63 cents a day. I guess he can keep the 3c for himself after he buys the pound and a half of rice. These are some of the things that are stark realities. And some people make reference to the freedom-loving countries of the earth.

In Greece, it calls for the death penalty for going on strike. Belgium, built out of the life blood of the Belgium Congo, black men and women have died so that can remain some kind of symbol. These are the things that are happening and you can't separate from what's happening in our country today. And I say people in those countries are sick, they're tired, they're fed up. In Africa, Capetown I almost got thrown in jail for giving away a Pittsburgh Courier and a Chicago Defender, depicting a Negro as something else than a serf. Listen to this, does it sound kind of familiar: In Africa, Capetown, many times they get the roads built and public services performed by going into the Bush and getting the natives and accusing them of non-payment of taxes, making them work for nothing. So they do in the South, Sister Viola Brown told yesterday how if you didn't want to work in Miss Anne's kitchen, that you wouldn't even get your unemployment insurance in many cases. And I say it makes me mad as all hell that the architects of our country today to want to give millions to Europe to maintain in power a group of officials that have been rejected by their peoples, giving away millions of dollars and don't even want to give me my unemployment insurance. (APPLAUSE)

We're not going to take it, we're not satisfied, we're telling these people we want our freedom and we want it now. We don't want it after a while, we want our freedom now. We're sick, we're tired, we're fed up of getting college educations, reading the best books and then getting handed a mop. It's not good . We're not going to take it, we got friends and I say that in spite of these white-haired "Uncle Toms" that wear the cast-off clothing of our masters, like Denmark Vesey, that great abolitionist, who said: "Beware of he that wears the cast-off clothing of our masters, beware of he that wears the old clothes from the big house." They're a lot of people today, Negro people, who are wearing the old clothes from the big house. They're "Uncle Toms."

There are some 1951 "Uncle Toms" too. Let me tell you friends, you can be "Uncle Toms" in lot of ways. And my opinion of a modern trade-union leader today, in 1951, who will sit back behind his desk, yes, he's the only Negro in a predominantly white Union, he's happy, he's carefree, and he's so happy at not being tainted by talking to Paul Robeson, or something like that. That man's "Uncle Tom" as far as I'm concerned. He's an "Uncle Tom" no matter how thin you slice it. And let me say, brothers and sisters, fellow trade-unions, don't get apathetic lying-still in your little

pie-card jobs, your brothers are being murdered in the South. (AUDIENCE SAYS "RIGHT") Right-wing, or left-wing Negro, I want to see you go to the Stork Club, don't make any difference. (LAUGHTER) Negro unionists, you can't afford the luxury of disunity at this point. Get together, get on that Freedom Train and make it roll. (APPLAUSE) I had some non-thinking person ask me yesterday said, "Say, don't you think your speech is a little to the left." I said, "Look brother, my speech may be upside down or sideways I'm going to get me some freedom." (LAUGHTER)

Friends, we've got to get together. Did you ever hear of that thing called Unity? We've got to get together because we're going to get together whether we like it or not. We must take some lessons from some of the things that have happened in other countries in the world. A great writer once said, that little something that separates man from beast is intellect, the right of a great mind to communicate with the great minds of the past, that's the thing that separates man from beast. So we must learn from things that have happened in other countries. And in Germany friends, less than 15 years ago, because the ruling class got desperate they saw themselves roped-in and they began to do some pretty vicious things, they made mattresses out of peoples' hair, gloves out of their skin, they murdered 6 million human beings in the ovens in Buchenwald and I say friends that people who are business partners do not have too many political differences, and today a big-shot in our country is John Foster Dulles, a corporation lawyer for the Schroeder Bank connected with it in some way, shape, form or fashion. We see some guys like Hjalmar Schacht, the brains behind Hitler, is sent over to Iran to help out. These are things that are happening. The same people that told us that we're on the wrong side during the last war are now in the driver's seat. Friends, we have a Ku Klux Klan foreign policy and we've got to change it. It's the truth, it may be hard words but the program that our architects today have outlined for us would deny freedom to the colonial peoples of the world. We're giving aid and comfort to the people who want to keep them in chains. And if the colonial people are in chains, then the people in the South are in chains and the Ciceros, the Peekskills and all the other disturbances of that kind don't start there, they start in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi and they boil over and they just drip over to those places. Those are (APPLAUSE) the things that are happening. We've got to stop it at its source.

And let's say to those Negro "Uncle Toms," let's say to them, "Look, there's a fight going, there's a battle coming" as Brother Hood pointed out, we're going into this battle with our colors unfurled and we know that there's going to be casualties, there's going to be many casualties. A lot of us are going to be denied jobs, a lot of us are going to be ostracized from our friends, we're going to be called names. These are some of the casualties we are going to suffer, but we've got to tell the Schuylers and the Sampsons and the rest of them, at least get off of our backs when we're fighting for our freedom. Get off. That reminds me of a guy like us and many of us have been in some fights, we're trade-unionists, when you're in a fight with a vicious and dangerous enemy, you don't know he might have a knife

or gun or something and some of your friends come and hold you. "Let me go,"—that's what we should say to these people. "If you're not going to help us fight at least don't stop us from fighting." (APPLAUSE, LOUD) Yes, that fascist man is here, he's got his foot inside the door, a little bit, just a little bit, but he's not going to get his foot all the way in. He's not going to get it all the way in because that fascist man stands for war, for misery, for poverty, and I say, It makes no difference whether we have an atom bomb that can kill 25 thousand and Russia has an atom bomb that can kill 20 thousand; 20 thousand human lives is not something to be gambled with. In LeHavre, France, I was there in 1945, I saw buildings gutted out, people without sanitation, without clothes, a healthy well-educated cultured people previously, they don't look so good when war comes. These big-shots in our country, as was pointed out by Brother Hood yesterday, they sort of come to a climax around 1899 or 1900 when they started grabbing, grabbing, grabbing. Of course there was that period of progressiveness you know, going out trying to make things, but now we've come to the position where they've got so much grabbed up they're afraid to lose it. And if they're afraid to lose they're going to keep you and me down to hang on to it. And we're not going to be held down, and when these guys get desperate, they do some pretty, pretty bad things, scare you to death, beat you to death, shove you around, keep you from getting education, because when you get some education friends, you learn how to read one book you're going to read another, then you read another, then you read another and then you say for crying out loud, somebody's been jiving me (LAUGHTER) Yes, sir, Yes sir, and then you find out that you've been fooled.

Well, the majority of the Negro people are today united and together. We speak of democracy and representative representation. I say the Negro people in our country need representation but we must have representation from the largest body of our people and the majority of Negro people have to work for a living, and I'm just naive enough to believe that if a man's going to make loud and articulate the voice of the Negro working people, he has to have some of the same problems that they have. The price of a pair of shoes, the price of butter, a wage freeze, a screening program, these kind of things must be always on his mind.

Now with all respect to the professions, with all respect to them, a Negro landlord he can kind of make it because the risks in a ghetto are 20 per cent less than they are in any other place. Negro doctors they're going to make it because we're sicker than most people because of conditions we're forced to live in. Negro undertakers are going to make it because we live 10 years shorter than anyone else. All of these people are going to make it, they can hold out a little longer than us. And so I say when these "Uncle Toms" and reactionaries come to me and tell me that I can't associate with this Negro and that other Negro and discuss our common problems before I've had a chance to find out for myself and that's what happened. We said we're going to get together a Negro Labor Council and immediately the press began to go to town, calling every name in the book before they even came to

see what we were going to say, call you names first and that's the kind of thing that we can't tolerate.

Don't isolate yourself friends, make this Freedom Train part-and-parcel of every conversation that you indulge in—in your Women's Clubs, in your Social Clubs and in the churches more than any other place, friends, because we can't let our Negro churches become what the reactionary forces would like it to be, just a tool, just an instrument, the Negro Church has a wonderful history in our country, a wonderful history. In this here town in Cincinnati, some of our churches were linked to the underground and many ancient Negro spirituals were signals to the underground like "How Shall I Send Thee; One By One, or Two By Two," the song about "Canaan Land" Canaan was a slang used by the African natives for expressing Canada, Canaan Land and freedom. Our church has always been primarily an organizing force, a getting-together force, and to all of these preachers who would tell us "Don't ride the Freedom Train" tell him, Look, Brother, my Bible teaches me Watch, Fight and Pray—Watch, FIGHT, and pray. My dad always told me that good things come to those who wait. But here's one that's slicker; a guy that'll go out and get what he wants, will get it a little bit quicker. (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE)

Yes, friends, our church is all important. Participate, read and study. Read that great Book, because there are many interesting lessons. And when they tell us in their long flowing terms, they come to us with a forked tongue saying that good people like Robeson, like Hood, honest people, are diabolical forces, they are evil people, we can tell them friends, tell them from that great story in Genesis 32, "The hand is the hand of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob." (APPLAUSE) And when the Negro people, who, in my opinion, assume the role of Father Isaac, when they wake up and find out that some of these mis-leaders of labor, mis-leaders of the people are telling them mistruths, the Negro people are now saying, as said Isaac, "Go, take thy sword, and break the yoke that thy brother has placed around thy head." Where you sold out for a bowl of potage, the Negro people today are not going to sell out for a bowl of potage, I mean a little security, a little better job than the rest of us got. (APPLAUSE) Yes, friends, never before in the history of our country has there been such a need for unity, right at the point of production, that's where we play our role. And the Negro Trade Union Council can be that little boy's thumb that was stuck in the dike to save a city. Stop the flood. All of us are looking forward to the day when we can walk down that street of dreams where no one is poor, where everybody has the right to work and the dignity of a first class human being. Everybody is looking forward to that. And you've no right to look forward to that dream unless you're doing something to make that dream possible. Yes friends, the day is coming when certain people are going to say, "All those who stand for the American way of life, stand up and be counted or sit down, you're a Negro, or sit down you're a Jew, sit down you belong to the ILWU, sit down you belong to the Negro Labor Council. Then who's going to stand up? Only the Uncle Toms and their life will be short lived because everybody's got contempt for a stool pigeon. An Uncle

Tom, a traitor, I wonder what these guys see when they look in the mirror. If he was a man how could he keep from cutting his throat when he shaves in the morning. (APPLAUSE) Yes, friends, there's no power on earth or planet in heaven that can stop this Freedom Train. Let's get on board. (APPLAUSE)

CHAIRMAN:

Sister and fellow delegates, I am indeed pleased to have this opportunity of introducing the next speaker. Can you hear me out there? The next speaker is an outstanding trade unionist, one who is well-known in the trade union movement, and not only in the trade union movement, but in the struggle for Negro freedom. A man, in my opinion, is a modern day John Brown, who has indicated a willingness to give leadership amongst the white people in the struggle for Negro freedom. He's a member of my own union, executive secretary-treasurer. His message is one that I think that everyone will appreciate deeply, and recognize the importance of. I think that he is well-qualified to bring this type of message to you because of his own record on the particular subject of which he is about to speak. The patch that he wears over his eye is a symbol of that fact. At this time, I would like to introduce Maurice Travis, executive secretary of the International Union of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. (LOUD APPLAUSE)

Brothers and Sisters: I was deeply moved when I received the invitation to appear here. This conference was called by—and is devoted to—Negro workers, who came here to discuss the

MAURICE TRAVIS — U.M.M.S. of A.

crucial issues which grow out of their life-and-death struggle against white man's justice. Because you have asked me to speak here as a white trade unionist, I feel a grave sense of responsibility.

The first thing I want to say is that if I am able to speak here today as a leader of a union which has in the past year had some taste of victory over formidable enemies, it is in large measure because of the courage, understanding and militance of thousands of Negro and Mexican-American members in my union. However, we still have a big job to do in my union.

What I have to say here today flows directly from the deeper understanding of my responsibilities as a white labor leader as a result of what the Negro and Mexican-American members of my union have taught me.

I didn't come here to tell the Negro workers of America, or their leaders, what to do. (*Applause.*) I didn't come to orate about the problems of the Negro people and hand out a fancy custom-built set of answers designed to

wash away all these problems — like Tide, the Washday Wonder.

Here on the stage, and out there, is a great abundance of genuine Negro leadership. Here are the real leaders of the Negro workers in America. They know what must be done, and they are ready, willing and very, very able to do it.

TO WHITE UNIONISTS

What I've got to say is aimed at the white trade unionists — rank-and-file white workers and their leaders—here and around the country.

How have we always talked about Negro-white unity in the past? We've talked about it on the basis of white joining to help the Negroes win their just rights. The big white brothers, holding out a generous, fatherly hand, to lift up the Negroes. And, of course, as long as that approach was used, the Negroes somehow never got lifted up.

I think it's about time that white workers and their leaders registered a fact of life. It's time for them to agree that a change has taken place in the world. It's time for them to understand that all over the world, the white man is being tested. Millions of people in Asia, Africa, South America, the Pacific, are taking a very close look to see if the white man means what he says when he talks about democracy and equality.

Here in the United States that world-wide test is being made in a very pointed way. Millions of people all over the world and right here in America—are taking a close look to see how the Negro worker gets along in this country where there is so much talk of democracy.

It's no secret to anyone in this hall that the United States is flunking the test miserably, in spite of the super-salesmen who clog the airways with protestations.

And the Negro workers of Georgia and Detroit and Harlem and Mississippi know that the chains which enslave the darker people of other lands are forged on the same anvil of bigotry and economic exploitation which fashions the chains of American Jim Crow.

The very fact that this conference is being held demonstrates that the Negro workers are not waiting. They have waited too long for their inalienable right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. No, they are not waiting. They are impatiently demanding.

Yes, the temper and position of the Negro people has changed . . . and it is continuing to change. And I say to the white trade unionists—we had better change too.

Whenever and wherever there has been genuine unity of Negro and white workers, unity of the kind we are talking about here—unity around a program of action—whenever there has been that kind of unity, the whole country has moved ahead.

There was that kind of unity in the period just after the Emancipation Proclamation. And both the white AND Negro workers of this country made great strides forward. There was also that kind of genuine unity between Negro and white workers under F.D.R. in the 1930's—and brother, how we did move then!

On the other hand, wherever there has been no unity between Negro and white workers, there the Negroes have been kept back and the white workers have been pulled back, too!

Now this is a big and important idea, an idea which white workers must be made to understand clearly —and quickly. What this means is that

the fight for Negro rights is not a matter of big brotherhood, or paternalism, or generosity on the part of white workers. It's a matter of life or death for the white workers themselves. (*Applause.*)

The white supremacists and their political stooges do not intend that the trigger, the lash and the noose shall be reserved for Negroes only. They intend that ALL workers shall feel the lash of reaction—if they do not comply. They intend to divide us on any grounds they can.

Now as far as the white leaders of the trade unions are concerned, there is a record. And if we look at the record of most of the big and important unions, what do we find?

We find that there is a great deal of talk about the need to fight for the rights of Negro workers. We find that committees are set up, civil rights directors are appointed, speeches are made, resolutions are passed.

Oh, there are a goodly number of labor leaders who capture the headlines with statements that the Negro must be given more equality as an answer to "communist propaganda." In one breath these labor leaders are making two damaging admissions.

First, they're admitting that there is discrimination against the Negro people and that they have done nothing, as labor leaders, to stop it. And second, they're admitting they have no desire to do anything in order to strengthen the Negro as an ally in the fight for better living standards for ALL Americans.

In effect, they're saying that they want desperately to hold on to the handle of red-baiting which becomes more and more feeble every time they use it.

But nothing happens.

The white labor leaders—and some of them head very big unions—somehow find it possible to make a lot of noise about how we have got to overcome discrimination in this country. But the Jim Crow locals are still there. The policy of "last hired and first fired" is still there. The segregated toilets are still in the back of the shop. The dual wage scale still prevails. The lily-white international executive boards are still in business. (*Applause.*)

But these same white labor leaders will tell you, and they will be very loud and surprised when they say it: "What do you mean, I'm not delivering on the question of Negro rights? Why, we hired a Negro stenographer just the other day. We had a big article about discrimination and equality in our union paper. Why, we eliminated discrimination in the bowling alleys all over the country—not in our unions — but the bowling alleys. (*Laughter.*) Surely, we're doing everything we can!"

The fact is that these white labor leaders have done nothing in the real fight for the rights of Negro workers —and they don't intend to do anything. They will concoct a hundred window-dressing campaigns to make a noise intended to fool some people into believing they are doing something.

IGNORE REAL JOB

But they ignore the real job—the fight for Negro rights in the shop and in the community around the shop. When it comes to providing leadership for the in-fighting against employers, these hypocrites are missing.

Now I want to make it clear that I think white workers have a great responsibility in the larger campaigns

—the struggles that are conducted on a national or regional basis. They can do a great deal in the fight for the right of Negro families to live in white communities. They can do a great deal when it comes to mobilizing protest delegations in cases like those of the Martinsville Seven, Willie McGee, the Trenton Six, and the fight against fascist terrorism in Cicero, Ill.

These campaigns are important. They contribute to the overall fight for full freedom for the Negro people. And many thousands of progressive white trade unionists have engraved an honorable record of the part they have played in them.

But these campaigns are no substitute for the day-to-day fight for Negro workers in our own back yard. They don't excuse the white worker from taking on a fight to see to it that his Negro brothers and sisters can eat in the same restaurant he uses right next to the shop where they work together. (*Applause.*) They don't take the place of job action to guarantee that a Negro is up-graded. They don't mean we can duck the fight for FEP clauses in our contracts.

TRADE UNION UNITY

What I'm saying is that the white union leaders have a responsibility to fight as trade unionists for the rights of Negro workers as trade unionists. More than that, it's a matter of cold self-interest, self-preservation of themselves and their unions for them to press that fight just as hard as they can.

I have been trying to say that when white workers join in campaigns for the liberation of their fellow freedom-fighters, the white workers are helping themselves. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the deep South . . . and for two very important reasons.

One reason is that when the fight for the elementary rights of Negro workers to vote in the South is won—and it will be won—there will be an immediate change in the political balance of power, not just in the South but all over the nation. Because when the poll tax goes, the strangle-hold of the poll-tax Congressmen on our government will be broken. That will open the doors for a whole series of changes in the political complexion of this land.

The second reason is that the economic balance of power is changing in the South. More and more Northern corporations are "decentralizing" their operations—which means moving them to the South where they hope to exploit cheap labor, caused by the division between Negro and white workers. That means unemployment in the North, and vicious exploitation of Negro and white worker in the South. The answer, so far as the white worker—both North and South—is concerned, is to guarantee that the Southern wage differential is wiped out. That means a joint fight—with Negro and white worker campaigning together in the same union—to bust the Southern differential.

A FOOLISH NOTION

There are not very many white workers left by now who harbor the illusion, the foolish notion that they have an identity of interest with employers. Every step that's been taken since the war drive began has made it clearer and clearer that the employers are out to destroy our living standards, wipe out even the most elementary of our civil rights, put our sons in uniform and send them to some foreign soil to kill and be killed. (*Applause.*)

The employers—and the men who speak for them in government—have made it clear that they are determined to have profits, no matter what it costs in terms of sacrifice by American workers.

And when the employers — acting through their agent in Government, Charles E. Wilson — impose a wage freeze, the freeze does not distinguish between white workers and Negroes. It does not say: we will hold down the wages of one group and raise the wages of the other. No, it says this wage freeze is democratic—everybody is frozen stiff as a mackerel. (*Laughter.*)

How do you fight that kind of business? You fight it by uniting with every ally you can find to smash the wage freeze. A white worker would be an awful dumb-bell if he rejected the willingness of the Negro worker to join him in a drive to smash the wage freeze.

And how does one do his part to help make sure that the Negro is in a position to fight the wage freeze — and all the other devices that are used to keep down the worker, Negro and white alike? How does the white worker and labor leader do his part to help mow down the barriers that stand in the path of the Negro worker?

SOME NECESSARY TOOLS

First of all, white workers have a responsibility to join the fight for placing the same tools in the hands of his Negro bother that he himself has. One of those tools is a job. Another of those tools is membership in a trade union—full membership. Still another tool is the right to advance into positions of leadership in the union.

These are three elementary tools which the Negro worker must have if he's going to fight effectively against those enemies he has in common with the white worker. So you see what I mean when I say that it's a matter of cold self-interest for the white worker to jump off his pinnacle of paternalism and join his Negro brother in a genuine brand of unity. (*Applause.*)

Now, most of the white labor leaders give at least lip-service to the notion that the Negro worker has a right to a job. And a few of them are willing to admit that the Negro ought to have membership in a local union that is not Jim Crow. But it is on the issue of permitting Negroes to advance into positions of leadership that so many white leaders begin to burrow under the rug, and find excuses, and reasons why not, and let's not be in too big a hurry.

THE TIME IS NOW!

I say the time is now. Not tomorrow, or next month, or after the next five-year contract expires. But now. If anybody wants to argue with me that Negro workers aren't ready to assume positions of union leadership, I'll tell him he's a plain damned fool. (*Applause.*)

Who is better qualified as a labor leader than Asbury Howard, our Mine-Mill regional director in the deep South. (*Applause.*) Who is better qualified than Raymond Dennis, our International Executive Board Member in the middle west? (*Applause.*) Who is better qualified than anyone of dozens of Negro workers in this hall?

Any white worker or white labor leader who says he believes in equality for Negro workers, and then says there doesn't happen to be any Negro in his union "ready for leadership" is just trying to duck a fight. (*Applause.*) In effect, he's saying, there may be a

Delegation, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers

few white members in the union who might object—so why make a fuss?

It doesn't seem to occur to those white leaders that nothing can mobilize and rally the Negro worker so much as the sure knowledge that there are Negroes among the leaders in his union—from top to bottom.

There are also the white labor leaders who advance the stupid and malicious argument that any attempt to advance Negroes into union leadership is "Jim Crow in reverse." You only have to take a brief glance behind that notion to see just one more example of white supremacy.

A SIMPLE PROBLEM

There is only one approach to the question of Negro leadership in trade unions. It is the approach that insists on advancement of Negroes into positions of leadership—at every level—in the interests of both white and Negro workers. It's that simple.

Once the Negro worker begins to develop stature as a leader in the labor movement, his union—and that includes the white leaders in his union—have a special obligation that goes beyond the union. That's the obligation to make sure that the Negro labor leader is given time and opportunity to develop as a leader in the Negro community—as a leader in the fight for Negro liberation on ALL fronts.

The hour is late. The corporations are becoming more and more arrogant, getting tougher and tougher. As they see it, they're in the saddle, and they intend to wring out everything they can get, even if it means war.

Now, I don't know whether or not the big shots in the corporations welcome the idea of another war. But I do know that they welcome—and insist on—the idea of an ever-increasing pro-

gram of armaments and overseas bases. And it's very clear why they insist on such a gigantic and costly arms program—paid out of the pockets and the sweat of American workers. First, they look upon it as the only alternative to a depression. And second, they are convinced that a huge arms program is the only effective way to win control of every market in the world.

JOBS AT STAKE

What that means—to the white and Negro worker alike—is easy to see. Workers in one of the plants covered by my union are losing their jobs because the plant cannot compete with cheaply-made products imported from occupied Japan. And it goes without saying that a MacArthur-trained police force and army of occupation make sure the workers of Japan have been stripped of the right to strike for decent wages.

No matter how you look at it, neither the workers of the American-controlled colonial areas, nor those here at home gain anything in this game. They only lose.

We've got to get moving, if we're going to bust up this plot. We've got to leave the planning and talking stage, and get into action—fast. (*Applause.*)

Now is the time for the white worker to make it clear—once and for all—that they welcome the idea of unity with Negro workers. Now is the time for them to make clear that they look upon Negro-white unity as a matter of mutual responsibility. After all, any alliance, by its very nature, means responsibility on both sides.

The white workers who are here at this conference have a special responsibility. They have the job of going back to their homes, to their unions, and campaigning for Negro-white unity—not among the Negro workers—but among the white workers.

NEGRO LEADERSHIP

There has never been any doubt in my mind that Negro workers welcome the idea of unity with white workers. And if there was any doubt anywhere, the very fact of this conference should end it, for good and all. The job that needs to be done is among the white workers—and that's our job. (*Applause.*)

The National Negro Labor Council which is being founded here is primarily a movement of Negro workers—Negro freedom-fighters. It is being led, and will be led, by Negroes. They will unite the Negro workers around a program of action, which is the way it should be done.

But the responsibility of white workers here is to guarantee that white workers be brought into the united struggle with Negro workers for Negro rights. Unless they do that, the white labor leaders will have forfeited the right to speak of Negro-white unity. (*Applause.*)

There are—fortunately not at this meeting — some white labor leaders who have already tried to smear this movement by calling it dual unionism. Now dual unionism is a catchword which is usually used by labor phonies when they see something done which they should have done themselves. (*Laughter.*) But I don't see any new labor federation being organized here. I don't see any new international or national union being founded here.

All I see is the beginning of a movement that should have been sparked and initiated long ago. The cry of

dual unionism is no more than a feeble attempt to find a closet in which to hide the skeletons of past failures.

HISTORIC CONVENTION

It seems to me there is something very special about this convention. This is an historic meeting. We are here at the birth of a movement that has no parallel in the whole history of our country. What is being done here has never been tried before.

I don't need to tell you that this meeting is taking place in an historic city—the site of an important way-station in the Underground Railroad during the long struggle against slavery. (*Applause.*)

One of the men who made his very special contribution to the struggle against slavery was John Brown. Now John Brown was not a diplomat. And he certainly was not a talker or speech-maker. As a matter of fact we are told by the history books that John Brown was not the kind of man who would use two words where one would do.

But John Brown was a man of courage, of conscience, and above all, a man of action. He was a man of principle. If a thing was right, it was right —there could be no compromise. He hated slavery, so he took himself to the very heart-land of slavery and made a dramatic attempt to smash slavery at one blow—by taking away the weapons that were required to uphold it.

JOHN BROWN'S HERITAGE

There are some who say that John Brown failed in his glorious attempt to smash slavery. But what John Brown did gave heart and spirit to the Negroes all over the South. When they heard the story of John Brown—they knew they had white allies, they knew that slavery could and would be destroyed. And what John Brown said at the last shines through even today —in the temper and spirit of this conference. He said:

"If it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done." (*Applause.*)

This is a time for new John Browns to arise, up and down the land. And I am convinced that out of this conference will come a whole army of—John Browns; (*Applause.*) men who are dedicated not to talk and double-talk, but to action. Men of principle and of conscience who are convinced that Jim Crow can be licked, and that the time has come to lick it, so that the Negro can take his full and rightful place as a first class citizen of this land —with full social, economic, political, and civil rights.

The time is ripe. Let's go! (*Applause.*)

CHAIRMAN:

A reading of the proposed program of action will be available to you all in mimeographed form within the next fifteen minutes. I'd like to say, however, that it's pretty evident from the partial report of the credentials committee and from the response of the delegates here to proposals put forward up to this point that the National Negro Labor Council has taken a long step today toward becoming the type of organization envisioned by the founding Convention in Chicago in June of 1950. I'm sure that a major contribution today has been made in the over all struggle of the Negro

people for full economic, social and political equality. But it's pretty evident that we cannot talk our way into this equality. It's pretty evident that we're here to struggle. And it's more than evident that we have to nail down, here and now the nature of that struggle. The program of action that flows out of this founding convention must reflect in life itself and in concrete application the specialized role of the National Negro Labor Council in the general field of struggle.

NORMAN STERNBACH, Teachers Union, Local 555, UPW:

There've been many things in my life that have made me happy. I'm not saying this for effect because you get up on the floor and you say things. My marriage, the end of World War II. But since those days in the past ten years there have been many things in the world that have made us unhappy, Negro and white. Twice as hard for the Negro people. But today at this convention, and yesterday at this convention, I saw and I felt a feeling that will overwhelm the dark clouds and the bitterness and the hatred and the war in our country. There was a new life being born. And when fear grabs us and we sit up at night and we worry about our wives and kids and the people around us it is the Robesons, the Pattersons, the Hoods, and the people at this convention who say NO, there is hope in America. But sometimes, and I am unhappy to say even at this convention I felt, we forget about some of the people—some of the people that are very important—if not most important in our country and in our movement, and that is the role that the Negro women are playing and the role that the Negro women have played before. Before the Civil War broke out there was a little woman, four feet ten inches tall, named Harriet Tubman. We don't hear about her in the history books. She weighed 85 pounds, but she went into the Underground Railroad. She organized the Underground Railroad, and when, at the end of her life she wrote a letter to Frederick Douglass, and said, Fred, please write an introduction to a book about me, I'd like you to say something about me because you're the greatest Negro in the U.S. today. He wrote back to her and said, Harriet, while you went in and risked your life—while you went in and freed your brothers and sisters, in the South, I was up here writing articles and making speeches. He said—you—you are the greatest Negro in America today, and I feel humble in being asked by you to write such a speech. And that's something, isn't it? But we forget that today in the United States Rosalie McGee with a crippled leg just out of the hospital against a doctor's orders, with her children in the South, walked throughout the United States pleading for the life of her husband.

Those of us who watched her saw a woman who had the oppression of hundreds of years of slavery and discrimination on her head—a woman who couldn't speak when she left the South,—in a few months become a giant of a woman and delivered speeches that made us sit and cry. And yes, those of us who are teachers and so-called intellectuals, we wept when we listened to the words of Rosalie McGee, because Rosalie McGee, when she spoke, was speaking literature and power and history and it's not only Rosalie McGee. It's Mrs. Ingram and

TERRY ROSENBAUM — A.L.P.-N.Y.

her kids in a prison in the South, never crying, never giving up. It's those people we have to remember. The Cladia Joneses, The Vicki Garvins, the trade union leaders who come up and fight.

Yesterday, on the floor, and I want to make reference to this because I think the convention should right it, because of time and other difficulties our panel didn't have the time to discuss the Negro women and jobs. When a Negro woman came up here, there was no microphone, so she couldn't be heard. But I think the delegates will recall, even those that didn't hear her, and some of them being very—I think—as the chairman said yesterday—Sam Parks was chairman of that panel, we were being ill-mannered, to put it mildly—she was the only person who came up on the platform, except for a young man who wrote a report on youth—who wrote out a detailed report with facts and figures. But because she couldn't be heard when we decided on a person to make the report on that panel it was decided that this Negro woman wouldn't make the report because maybe she wouldn't be heard. Harriet Tubman never learned to read or write. She was 85 pounds. She may not have been heard —but that is not a reason for saying she should not make the report and possibly a younger person who is louder should make the report. (APPLAUSE)

On the program of action, the chairman stated earlier today and it was stated yesterday, that we would try to include in the discussion of the resolutions an action on our discussion. That's why I contributed here today. The delegates who have spoken previously have mentioned that we don't have enough Negro leadership in the unions, that we talk a lot and write articles a lot, but that they're not here. That they're not in our unions. On this program of action for jobs for Negro women, let's make certain that when we get back to the unions it's not a so-called "Addition" to the program we adopt—but rather that we really go out and fight on it because in the Negro women in the United States, then and now, the same Harriet Tubmans are living, lies the future of tomorrow. They're the ones who bring up the kids. They're the ones who work in the shops. They're the ones who fight with us. And let us remember one thing, part of the Negro people were given the right to vote and part of the white people in 1865 but it took till 1919 till a law was passed that gave women the right to vote. And since that time, until today many changes have taken place and it wasn't despite the women, but because of the help and the aid that they gave us. And let's not forget it, and let's as Sam Parks said yesterday,

listen a little more instead of talking so loud when it's hard to hear the person speaking, a woman or somebody smaller than us. Thank you very much. (APPLAUSE)

EWART GUINIER

BROTHER CHAIRMAN, I think that the question that the brother raised how to mobilize the people of the community around the program of our councils is a very important one. Maybe by a short discussion of what we've been able to do in NYC, through the Greater NY Negro Labor Council, we may find some answers to this question.

As most of you know, the Greater NY Negro Labor Council was the first council to be formed, having been formed in April, 1949, as the Harlem Trade Union Council. And one of the moments that I think we should spend here, is in tribute to the work of the first leader of that Council—a man who has made his mark in the American trade union movement, becoming the National Secretary of the CIO National Maritime Union in 1937 when that union was a fighting union. He led that union in the struggle for upgrading of Negro, Puerto Rican, and women workers; a man that helped to mobilize the entire trade union movement to ensure that in 1942 a Negro became a sea captain of the SS Booker T. Washington, Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac. That man, who is not here with us today, is still working among working people. He is now the Assistant to the Secretariat of the World Federation of Trade Unions, in charge of Caribbean Affairs. I am, of course, referring to the former Executive Secretary of the Greater NY Negro Labor Council, Brother Ferdinand Smith. (*Applause*)

. . . And Brother Smith wants you to know, as he said when the government of this country said he couldn't stay here any more, and when the reporters said, "What are you going to do, Mr. Smith?", he said, "Wherever working people are struggling, that's where you're going to find Ferdinand Smith." And there he is. (*Applause*)

TRAINING AND PLACEMENT OF NEGRO WORKERS

In New York we tried to put into effect from the very beginning the kind of program that Brother Coleman Young has outlined to you as the program of the National Council movement, 100,000 new jobs for Negroes, 1 million signatures for FEPC. We didn't have in all the details that Brother Young has been able to present here. He has been able to confer with leaders of Councils from all over the country and to bring forth a program of action.

Some people may say that we are not interested in merely going after the small jobs of the utilities, or the breweries, or the milk companies in the Negro communities, that we should get right down to business and attack the discrimination in basic industry. Well, I have no quarrel with getting down to business and attacking the intolerable discrimination that we find in steel, that we find, yes, in many auto plants, that we find in many of the basic industries of this land.

But while we map out such programs we must be able to reach the individual Negro working men and women in our community. We have found that one of the best ways to do that is to have a kind of a placement system—a placement and training service. For several months after we were founded in NY we had "placement night." On Mondays and Thursdays from 7 to 9 any Negro worker could come to our office and register for work, register for training, register any complaint he or she may have.

We were able to place directly through our Council 250 Negro men and women and youth within the period of 8 months, in jobs—some of them unskilled, but many of them highly skilled jobs including skilled jobs in the technical field in the radio industry.

In addition to this placement service, and we utilized any contacts we had with unions, with hiring halls to help with

EWART GUINIER — U.P.W. of A.

these individual jobs, we also, in conjunction with the Committee for the Negro in the Arts, set up a motion picture production training unit and we have been training Negro men and women in the technique of making motion pictures . . . Not only have we placed some Negro men and women in this field, but what's more important this unit has been able to photograph and to record for posterity, some of the activities of our Council—the most noteworthy being the cultural evening that we had on June 1st of this year. Brother Paul Robeson, with a supporting cast, gave a concert at the Golden Gate Ballroom. We had almost 4,000 people in the hall, and several hundred—maybe as many as a thousand, turned away because they couldn't get in.

We also, in NY, held a cultural festival a year before that where Brother Paul Robeson, on behalf of Negro working men and women, gave a tribute from the trade unions—a tribute to Negro workers. We have found the cultural end of things is one of the best mediums to weld our people together and we feel that every local council should find a way of bringing forth artists from among the workers themselves.

Not all of us are fortunate enough to be able to have Brother Robeson appear at our Council endeavors. You know that he wants to wherever he goes, and he has. As a matter of fact, when I travel around the country for my union I find in many localities that the Negro workers say—"The best organizer that we have in the Negro labor movement is Paul Robeson, because when he comes to town the Negro workers turn out to greet him and we get an opportunity to get together with them." (*Applause*). Well, we must see that we develop many more Paul Robesons among our men and women by giving them the opportunity to come forth culturally.

SUPPORT TO NEGRO LONGSHOREMEN

One of the most dramatic events that we have done in our Council in New York was a mass picket line that we had a couple of years ago in front of the offices of President Joe Ryan of the International Longshoremen's Association. We have said, and Brother Hood has said, that our job is not to interfere in the internal affairs of unions. However we are not going to be blind when our people are being discriminated against within unions or outside of unions. When they call upon us for help we are going to be there to give them that help.

In the Longshoremen's union—that is, the AFL-ILA, there was a situation where a local—Local 968, composed almost exclusively of Negro workers, were denied the usual customs in the longshore industry, namely, having some piers that they would have jurisdiction over. Every local in Brooklyn has 3 or 4 or 5 piers on which the work is regularly given to members of that local—except Local 968 which has Negro officers, and the overwhelming membership—almost 100%—Negro. They have no piers whatsoever. These piers were taken away from them by President Joe Ryan.

And so these workers, after going thru all the petitions within the union and getting nowhere, established a picket line before Ryan's headquarters. For two or

three months, 3 or 4 of these workers would picket King Joe Ryan.

The Harlem Trade Union Council, at the request of the rank and file of Local 698 members decided to give support to this picket line and at the moment that Joe Ryan was about to lift the charter of 968 to get rid of what he thought was this nuisance, the Harlem Trade Union Council, the predecessor of the Greater NY Negro Labor Council, established a 24 hour picket line that was participated in by 14,000 Negro and white workers around the clock. (*Applause*)

That was a tremendous demonstration, and O'Dwyer, now resting in Mexico City, ordered the cops to break up the picket line. They ran into it with their horses. But the 24 hours with that picket line around Joe Ryan's headquarters told the world what was happening in the ILA. This stayed the hand of Joe Ryan lifting the charter of Local 968. Local 968 went ahead, had its elections, and reelected its militant leadership, and today they are still part of the fighting rank and file in ILA, fighting right now in NYC and along the East Coast to get a decent wage increase instead of the measly ten cents an hour that King Ryan settled for with the shipowners.

And the existence of Local 968 is a challenge to the entire ILA, because it says to the ILA, treat these Negro workers right, or the entire labor movement will be made aware—through instrumentalities like the Negro Labor Council, of the kind of discrimination that you practice. (*Applause*)

The Negro Labor Council in NY has given much aid to many unions struggling with problems. I know my own union, the United Public Workers, has received tremendous amount of encouragement by the Negro Labor Council, not only in NY, but all over.

BUREAU OF ENGRAVING CASE

When we were in a struggle with the United States Government to get Negro youth—Negro veterans accepted as apprentices to plate printers in the Bureau of Engraving, a craft that had never been opened up to Negro people, it was the Negro Labor Council movement that helped to rally the entire Negro community and the trade union movement in support of this fight and one of the keys in winning this fight was something that happened—maybe accidentally.

You know, Mr. Walter White, of the NAACP, takes a lot of pot shots at a lot of our leaders and he wrote a special article for Ebony magazine, in which he tried to debunk what Paul Robeson had been doing. He tried to make out that Paul is just a sorehead, that somehow he just didn't like Mr. Truman, and all he wanted to do in this country was embarrass him, and in order to illustrate this point, Ebony printed a half-page picture. And what did this picture say? It showed Paul heading a picket line, carrying a sign which said, "Mr. Truman, take Jim Crow off the US Dollar." This picket line was before the White House. Well, within two weeks after this picture appeared in Ebony with its over 300,000 circulation, more and more people began to know, for the first time, about the fight that the Public Workers had been carrying on in the Bureau of Engraving. And we won that fight because this January, 17 Negro youth started to work as apprentices to plate printers. (*Applause*)

And there are many other unions that have gotten help from the Negro Labor Councils. I believe that the Chicago Conference—and the NY Negro Labor Council takes pride that it was through the efforts of our Council and the Chicago South Side Negro Labor Council primarily—that we were able to have that spendid Chicago conference last June. A conference that brought to national attention the existence of young and vigorous and militant trade unionists. And that has brought forth this gathering under the able and dynamic leadership of Bill Hood. We are proud that we participated in that conference. That conference has stimulated unions to discuss this question

of what they can do—what they should be doing—on the fight for Negro rights.

UNIONS MUST DO MORE

There are some unions that feel smug. They feel that they have done a good job, but I want to stand here and say that whether it's my own union, the Public Workers, or any other union, there isn't a single union in this country that has done the full job that we expect them to do and that we are going to demand that they do in making this fight for full equal rights for Negro workers a number 1 job. Because we say to the unions—the Negro worker has shown on the picket lines that they are there to support the rights of all workers.

The Negro workers in the South are showing, and right now the DPOW in Memphis, Tenn., largely composed of Negro workers are under the gun of the McCarran Committee that has raided their office, to seize their membership lists. Those workers are standing firm, and the white workers are standing with them. We are saying that kind of demonstration of guts that they will continue to give, and it is in the interests of the white workers and especially the white leaders of the trade union movement to see this and to give every opportunity to the Negro workers to give forth of their strength and stamina, to give backbone to the trade union movement, so that we won't have a sell-out, company-union movement that the Phil Murrays and the Walter Reuthers would have us have in this country. (*Applause.*)

I want to say to Jack Kroll, of Cincinnati, that when he condemns Bill Hood and this movement, we and the workers in the Amalgamated—the 15,000 Negro workers in the Amalgamated, Laundry Section in New York, and the 100,000 Negro workers in the automobile industry, and the 100,000 Negro workers in the steel unions, will not forget that Phil Murray is head of an international union with an executive board of over 30 members, and not a single Negro; that Walter Reuther is head of an International Board of 22 members—not a single Negro, that Phil Murray, as head of the CIO, condoned the CIO's going into the South and organizing Jim Crow locals. Philip Murray condoned Negro workers being thrown out of the CIO hall in Atlanta, Georgia. They couldn't have a desk in the CIO hall there. Emil Rieve, the president of the Textile Workers Union, in South Carolina, it was the lawyer for that union that defended the KKK members that harassed and lynched Negroes.

And in Alabama, Mr. Phil Murray and his political action committee—Jack Kroll says we shouldn't have Negro Labor Councils, we should just support the Political Action Committees of the CIO. But in Alabama, the CIO Political Action Committee was to support a Senator, running on the platform of "vote for me and your wife and daughter won't have to work beside a Negro." Yes, in Louisiana, the CIO's Regional Director, Mr. Fred Piper, was a delegate to the Dixiecrat Convention, and for his efforts he was promoted to assistant director of the CIO's Southern organizing drive.

ABUSES MUST END

We say that so long as these things are condoned by the Murrays and the Reuthers and the Rieves, we are going to stand up and we are going to say it's wrong. We are going to put the finger on the trade union leaders who carry on in this disgraceful way. And we challenge them to say that that is interference in the trade union movement.

The trade union movement is our movement—we helped to build it, and we are going to see that it goes on the right path, and by God, so long as we have leaders like Hood, like Sam Parks, like Vicki Garvin, like Pearl Laws, yes, and the inspiration of Paul Robeson, we are going to go forward and we are going to have this trade union movement be a rank-and-file one, with democracy the touchstone, equal rights for all our goal, and we are not going to let up one moment, either in the Negro community,

either in the white community, in the unions, or anywhere else. (*Applause.*)

CHAIRMAN:

I take pride in introducing a Negro woman who will speak to you now in regards to the coming resolution and also the way that the Sojourn that was held by Negro women from all over the United States to Washington, Sister Laws.

PEARL LAWS:

I'm reporting on the Sojourn that took place in Washington, D. C. on September the 29th and October the first. This was the first sojourn of Negro women for truth and justice. The remarkable thing about this sojourn of Negro women who were organized in exactly about two weeks, this whole organization was conceived and carried out. We got to Washington and there were 132 Negro women from 13 States. Those women came to Washington to speak their mind, to seek redress for our grievances. At the first session this call was read by Sojourner Beulah Richardson, who around the whole . . . the inspiration for the whole sojourn came from her. This wonderful call was also written by this Sojourner. I just want to read very briefly from one section of the call. "We claim that this government cannot honestly, convincingly and sincerely spend billions, send troops, and draft treaties for peace and freedom for other nations, while it never has and does not now, protect the lives and liberties of 15 million of its own Negro citizens. Only when our government abolishes the lynch-system justice of Mississippi, when it publicly declares there shall be no more Cicero or Peekskill, only when it moves to

PEARL LAWS

enforce, with its might, the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the United States Constitution, then and only then can it speak as a free nation in a free world.

. . . Josephine Grayson, the wife of one of the Martinsville Seven. Sojourner Westray, who had her son killed in Brooklyn by police brutality. A young Negro woman, Dorothy Faulkner, who spoke of the problems of the young Negro women. Many women got up and spoke of their own experiences of the special oppression that bears down on the Negro women in a special way. Many burst into tears and many were apologetic because they cried. And the rest of the women in the audience would say, dry your tears, and speak your mind. This became the slogan of the Sojourners, throughout. . . . We later went to the home of our great leader, Frederick Douglass and there the proclamation was read and adopted. And later the Committee of Washington Women had a reception for the Sojourners. I'm going to try to get through this

part of it very quickly. I can't give you in detail all the activities we had but I just want to highlight some of them. On Sunday we had a camp meeting in the Salem Baptist Church and there again this new type of approach where the women got up and spoke, very movingly of how they feel and how oppression affects Negro women. We had with us, Sojourner Amy Mallard who got up and very movingly and stirringly spoke about her personal grievances in addition to the projection of the whole idea of why the Sojourners were here in Washington. And then she spoke about sitting beside her husband when he was shot, because he wanted to vote, and dared to fight for that right to vote. And then she spoke of, that in this case, there couldn't have been any frame-up about rape or any such thing, because her husband fought and knew in his heart and felt with all that was in him that this woman, his companion, his partner, this black woman—was the most beautiful woman in the world and she spoke very movingly about this, and she resented very much this whole frame-up of Negro men around the question of rape of white women. She had that entire audience there in tears. Sojourner Angie Dickerson from New York spoke about why we were here in Washington and some of the things we were demanding as Negro women.

And Sojourner Beulah Richardson who had, in a couple of weeks again, written a very beautiful poem dedicated to Harriet Tubman, also read this poem. And Sojourner Robeson spoke of the Freedom Family. I'm very sorry, but I know I haven't got time to go into details of how it was developed. I just want to give you a picture of what took place there. And Sojourner Halois Moorehead spoke of the future organization, on a mass scale, of the Negro Women, Sojourners.

On Monday there were two delegations that went—one to the war department, and the other to the Dept. of Justice. To the War Dept., the Sojourners were led by Charlotta Bass and an appointment had been gotten with a Major General Shaw and she demanded of General Shaw—she said, "I want to know, General, what is your position on discrimination in the armed forces?" And he hemmed and hawed and searched for words, and there was a Negro Lieutenant present, and he looked to him for an answer—you know the type of thing—it's difficult. To his credit, he didn't say a word. This General finally said, "Well, I have no position one way or the other. I just carry out orders . . ." The Negro women said, "we are not satisfied with this. We demand to know your position on this question, because you carry out these orders, and therefore we want to know whether you are for or against discrimination in the Armed Forces." Of course, he had no answer for that, he wasn't able to say anything. On the delegation to the Justice Department was led by Sojourner Angie Dickerson. We had a meeting with a Mr. Hubbel where a demand was made for indemnities for the widows and children and victims of lynch terror and I just want to pause here for one minute to speak of what it means to many Negro women—to thousands of Negro women—but I want to hold out two in particular at this point—A Mrs. Grayson, and a Mrs. McGee. One with five children, another with four children, to bring up all alone—their husbands snatched from them

and murdered. These Negro women now have to be mothers and fathers to these children and to work and support them and be completely responsible for the development of these children. This is what is happening to the Negro women in our country—these special burdens that are upon us that even where we establish good family relationships, our men are taken out and slain, and lynched and killed for one reason or the other, and we are left with our children to bring up all alone and have this terrific burden come down with all its weight on the Negro women. We demand that the United States government take responsibility for this, take responsibility for the lives of these children and to see that these children are supported by the government that is responsible for the death of their husbands and responsible for the death of the fathers of these children. Also was the question—and one woman I want to single out who typifies all Negro women, and that is Mrs. Ingram. Mrs. Ingram who, with her husband dead, and 12 children, has to work in the fields and at the same time take care of 12 children. This woman not only did this nobly and with all her abilities and in addition to that she was subjected to insults. And because she dared, as a Negro woman—a proud Negro woman, to defend her honor, she's languishing in jail today. We took our stand very forcibly that we demanded the release of Mrs. Ingram. (APPLAUSE). On the question of Cicero, I won't go into that. We took a stand on that and held the U. S. Government responsible for what happened in Cicero. The persecution of our great leader, Dr. DuBois, we took a very firm stand on that. On the question of our beloved Paul Robeson, the denial of his passport that he cannot travel anymore. And incidentally, this persecution that begins like that—around an individual—they try to make it appear like that—it spreads. Because the delegation from N. Y., of 104 delegates that had chartered planes to come here on Friday afternoon at 5:30 they were told that the planes could not go because the planes were needed by the Army. This was challenged and fought out, and later on I guess they thought it over and realized what a terrible mistake this was, and how we would have blasted them to glory on this question, so they decided to let the planes go, and they did come in. And only because this question is such a challenge to them, they have no answers for it—for the oppression of the Negro people in this country. And we were able to get the delegates here. But the point I'm going to make in relation to Paul is that it begins by denying an individual to go abroad and now they're beginning to attempt to deny individuals to travel freely even in the United States. But we're not going to take that. We're going to fight, and we're going to fight for our rights not only to travel in the United States but all over the world, whenever and wherever we want (APPLAUSE) On the trials and the persecution of William Patterson, the Sojourners took the position that whether you agree with Mr. Patterson's views or not, we are Negro women, and when this black man is called names in the halls of Congress that is an insult to every Negro woman—because we're being called dogs—that we object to—this man don't represent nobody but a handful of white racists in the South. He does not even represent his own state and he dares to get up in th hall of Congress and call and

insult a black man and in doing so he's calling every Negro woman a dog, and we will not stand for that and again we hold the United States Government responsible for that sort of thing, because instead of this congressman being tried, no, he's not on trial, but Patterson is on trial. We'll take no more of that, either. (APPLAUSE) And another thing we're not going to take no more of, when it comes to some of our so-called leaders who are respectable and accepted.—Is a Mr. Dawson, who—by this contemptible man, that the only thing he has to -make him feel like he's something in his white skin. You know, and he holds it up in front of him and he's God because his skin is white. That's all this other man—this other congressman I'm talking about now—has and he dares to use a Negro representative to say "well, you think I'm not a friend of the Negro," because, he says, this remark to Patterson was only something to Patterson himself. So he says, go down there and ask Dawson, he knows I'm a friend of the Negro. So he's using a Negro man to cover up, and using him in the role of a Tom to cover up his insults to all Negro people. Who is insulting Dawson, himself because his mother is black (LAUGHTER). The point I want to make is this—that we have these kind of Negroes that are playing this role. And in addition to what we are not going to stand for in relation to white racists, we are not standing any more for this type of Negro to be held up as leader of the people. As President Hood said in his speech, Uncle Tom is dead—but many of them that are around that don't realize they're dead, they're going to find out right quick—that they are dead (APPLAUSE). Very breifly, on the question of the appointment that we made. We took the position that next time, when we come to Washington we're not seeing the secretary of the secretary of the secretary any more. We're gonna give them a lot of notice and we're gonna see Mr. McGrath himself and we're not going to be palmed off to go and see Mr. Hubbard who gets very uncomfortable when a delegation of Negroes come in. Again using the Negro, you know, one against the other. Again putting him in this position, so we say, in the future, whenever we go down to Washington again we're going to send in advance two months, if necessary, and we're going to see Mr. Big Man himself, and tell him what we're thinking about.

Very briefly, about the mood of the Negro women at that Sojourn. While it was very small and it was just a beginning, it showed, very clearly, through this experience of this movement the level of development of the Negro women, the level of the desire to struggle that throughout the ages has always been typical. Negro women have always struggled against this oppression and against this enslavement. The history of the Negro women in the United States has been a glorious one in this type of struggle and we were determined there—and we dedicated ourselves there to organize Negro women all over this country —North and South to fight for our rights and to put an end to this destruction of our family life, to this destruction of our homes, to the oppression of the Negro people generally, because this is felt more keenly by the Negro women because she's way down there taking all—and she has always fought back and we are determined, in the spirit of this Convention, that we are going to organize and we're going

to fight for our rights as Negro women. In closing I just want to say—the Freedom Train is rolling and Negro women are not in the second car or in the third car, but they're right up there in the first car. (APPLAUSE) And more than that—the drivers seat on the Freedom Train of the Negro people is a double seat—it's got room for the male — and the female (LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE). And this is the kind of movement this is, and this is the kind of role we're gonna fight for and we're gonna get, because this is the role that we have played through the whole history of our country, and we're going to get our freedom, and we're going to roll over anybody and everybody who's in the way (APPLAUSE)

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER:

. . . throughout industry and government employment in America, and towards that end, to launch an immediate fight to end discrimination in hiring in shops and factories in all communities, with special attention directed to the lily white shops in industry. Number 2, an intensive campaign for upgrading of Negroes throughout industry. (3) In order to secure the maximum support for jobs and upgrading that all unions, whether AFL, CIO, Independent, or RR Brotherhood, as a matter of policy, adopt no-discrimination model contract clause as adopted by us at the 1950 Chicago Conference. (4) We place major emphasis on breaking through in apprenticeship training programs to guarantee job opportunities for Negroes on skilled jobs and in the crafts. Be it further resolved that this founding convention of the National Negro Labor Council call for an immediate end to the flagrant and glaring job discrimination existing in industries serving Negro communities, such as utilities, bakeries, department stores, communications, and so forth. The Convention further calls upon all affiliated Councils to at once initiate campaigns to mobilize full support of their respective communities for this fight. Be it further resolved that this convention calls for a nationwide fight for a minimum of 100,000 new jobs in industries, shops, department stores, crafts, skilled trades and government employment, which now denies equal opportunities for Negro workers. This campaign for jobs must center around three main objectives: (1) Jobs for Negro Women: (2) Crack the lily-white shops; (3) and general fight for upgrading throughout the country. We call upon all affiliated Councils, white allies, trade unions, and all fighters for freedom to support this campaign for 100,000 new jobs, and guarantee a successful conclusion by May 15th, 1952. (APPLAUSE) I move the adoption of the resolution, Brother chairman.

CHAIRMAN:

It's moved and seconded. Before adopting this resolution, we've had some panels, and there was the question of Negro Women in industry, and there was the question of the Negro youth. So at this particular time on this particular resolution, I'd like to throw the floor open to some discussion in regards to the job situation in regards to these two particular segments of the question we are discussing. The floor is now open for discussion. Anyone desire the floor? You've heard the motion. Any questions? Will the young lady come up here?

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER:

First of all, on the question of young women and women in general—we've thrown around a lot, but I'd just like to say that of course the slogan should be, "out of the kitchens, into the factories." But I'd like to say that at the same time we raise this very excellent program of action, of jobs for Negro women in industry,—we also set about to organize, and—it becomes a question in this council—the organization, and the property of the unions—of the domestic workers. Because this is where Negro women are, and we've got to address ourselves to that question at the same time as we guarantee jobs in industry for Negro women.

Secondly, on the question of youth. I'm not going to speak as outlined by the chairman, but I think that the question of A1 status of Negro young men who go to get a job. On the application now it says, what is your draft status? And if you are 1A you do not get a job, plus the fact that those industries don't hire Negroes anyway and there's two counts against the Negro young man. And I think at the same time as we raise the slogan for Peace we fight to abolish this special — this extra-special qualification for our youth, for our Negro young men.

Thirdly, I represent here, not a trade union but the Labor Youth League, and one of our leaders, Roosevelt Ward, Jr., is in jail on a phoney draft evasion charge. The government said that he wilfully evaded the draft, but when the trial came up it was so phoney that even they had to drop it and all that he is in for now is for failure, they say, to report a permanent address. He has three years, and a $20,000 fine on his head at this moment. Also, James Lawson, a Negro leader of 2 million youth, Methodist youth, who spoke out on peace and is a conscientious objector, is in jail for three years. What are they saying to the Negro youth, and what are they saying to the outstanding Negro youth leaders—who lead both Negro and white youth? That they have such contempt for us and want us not to have a future that they say don't you even dare to be a conscientious objector and speak out for peace. And of course, don't you dare speak out for peace the way Roosevelt Ward has, for jobs for Negro youth and for the rightful place for Negro women, and so on. I would like to place for the consideration of the Resolution Committee and the body, to go on record as fighting for the freedom of Roosevelt Ward Jr. and James Lawson and that we bring this up in our unions, and petition McGrath to fight for the release of these two Negro youth who stand for peace and freedom, and lead young Negro and white workers for peace and freedom. Thank you very much. (APPLAUSE AND CHEERS)

FLORENCE PETERSON:

My name is *Florence Peterson,* and I'm from New York, representing a group of Negro women who have broken down discrimination in our neighborhood. To this date, we're three months old, and we have acquired jobs for ten Negro people in ten white stores in our community. We have a poster that when we establish these jobs in these stores where the neighborhood is predominantly Negro and we have 85% white owners and no Negro workers. We have made posters that we place in the

store, saying that this is an FEPC store. We have a key, in asking the people in our community to look for the key when you shop and buy. We also have membership cards that are twenty five cents, with a pledge on the back which says that we will look for the key before buying and we will fight all forms of discrimination and Jim Crow and we will make our community a better place to live. We also have a bulletin that we have called the Key, that we go around from door to door, asking people to read and find out what we are doing in our community to get Negroes jobs.

We are working in an area from 150 Street to 145th Street and the community has awakened to the fact that the Negroes need jobs, and that they're getting jobs, and that we women are not going to stand for any more discrimination in our neighborhood. We're cleaning it up. (APPLAUSE) We have also been so important that just last week we met with the Board of Mediation, and they wanted to arbitrate with us but they had nothing to say except that we were right in demanding these jobs and we're getting them. We have one problem, though, in our neighborhood. Local 400, of the Butcher's union have no more Negroes to place in these jobs where we have acquired them. And I'm asking now, if anybody knows of any Negro men who are butchers, who are interested in the trade, to give me their names and we will assure them of jobs. And anyone who is interested in getting our Key also, let me have your name, and we will distribute and let you have the Key and let you know what we're doing in our community. Thank you very much. (APPLAUSE).

CHAIRMAN:

It seems as though now we 've got a Key on the Freedom Train . . . We got a Key, hah?

ERNEST DIXON:

This is Ernest Dixon from Chicago, Illinois affiliated with the DPO Local 194. I wanna speak about this here discrimination on women and also youth. First thing I want to say is I have a son—my home is in Missouri but I've been in Chicago working for quite a while—I have a son he graduated from High School in Missouri, so he went to Ashtabula, Ohio and he worked a while and he decided he'd want to go to college. So he came to Chicago and he's up there working a while now. We went down to the employment office trying to help get him a job. Went down there one evening on State and Van Buren to the employment office and we walked in and the employment office asked us "What you want." I replied to them, I said, "I don't want anything, my son wants a job." He looked right at him and he says "What kind of a job you want?" And the boy told him, says I want an office job or something like that. He said, well—he said, "ain't no need me talking with you, I'm here to tell you that we don't have but few jobs for colored peoples here in Chicago—office jobs." So we didn't say anything about that no more.

Now you talk about discrimination, and you talk about segregation of women, colored women and I am against it. And I fight against it. I'm sort of like reading a piece by Bilbo one time, when this first FEPC Call came out, I remember reading a piece of his statement, he says, as long as God give him breathe to speak that

he was going to fight for white supremacy. Well, I made up my mind too. As long as God give me breath I'm going to fight against discrimination, against segregation against our people. (APPLAUSE)

I want to say about this, we're talkin union and I been in union and I belong to a union. But I hear the story once that give me very much logic, that I got out of it. At first I didn't but afterward I did. I want to think about this story I want everyone here to think about it. I hear the story about, it was a white man he had a store in town and the rats were eating up his cheese and he wanted to know how to get rid of the rats. He put out poison and everything but the rats were still ignoring the poison and eating up his cheese. So he finally decided he said, "I'll get me a cat." So he went out in the country and got him a cat. Brought the cat to town and the cat went to get learning to keep the rats from eating up his cheese. The rats they got together and they held a meeting and said, "we got to get together and see what we can do about this here cat in town."

So they got together and they decided, they said, I'll tell you what we'll do, we'll organize a Union. So they got together and they organized a union, they got their chairman and president and secretary and everything and then they say, they say well we getting on pretty good progress in getting this cat out of town. So after they organized the union one smart rat said, "Here's what we ought to do. We've got to take notice on this cat and see what it takes to get him out." So they went on with that procedure. One rat watched the cat all the time. He had a peep-hole you know, and he'd stand around and watch the cat. Well, he found out from watching the cat that being he was from the country, he was afraid of noise. When the street cars or busses would come by he would jump and run. So this rat pointed that to the union, they had a meeting and he pointed that out to the union. So they got together and they said, "what we going to do to get a noise to get the cat out of town." One smart rat said, "let's buy a bell," and bell the cat." So they said, that all right. So they went together and they paid in money and they paid up dues and they bought a bell and they called a meeting and they said "We bought the bell, now we'll get rid of the cat."

They discussed the problem about how they had the bell and the strap and everything. So after you accomplish anything you already getting ready for a dance. Like we do today or any time, when we have a big meeting and we think that we'll accomplish anything we get ready for a dance. So they decided to close out the meeting and get ready for a dance. Just before they was getting ready to dismiss the meeting the one rat who was setting in the back he said, "Brother Marguery, a dissertation , a minute please, We've got the bell, we've got our union, we've got our president and everything but one thing—one thing is still oppressing me. WHO IN THE HELL IS GOING TO PUT THE BELL ON THE CAT?" So I'm saying here today I want every labor council to think about that. (APPLAUSE AND LAUGHTER).

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER:

When I sit down and think back and think of those two great Negro women whose names have been mentioned so often here today, Harriet

Tubman and Sojourner Truth, and that they traveled thru the chains of slavery, when blood flowed like water, and thought that we might be able to settle here today and speak and fight for the freedom that they fought for then. I say that's enough for me. That I can carry on from there and I can help to be a Harriet Tubman and a Sojourner Truth. To go down the line for that freedom. For Negro women, black and white, native born and foreign born. (APPLAUSE) And our brothers and sisters join hands together all over and fight for that thing that we haven't get yet but by golly we're going to have it, Freedom. And I say today that when we leave here and go back to our respective locals and our plants, where men by reactionary forces are set to fight the women, and the women made to fight the men, that we say to them. "Lookit here. we're going down this road together, because when you fight me, you fight yourself, and when I fight you I fight myself and I'm fighting against all principles and ideals that we stand for here fighting for freedom."

You know when they get ready to discriminate against you, you hear people talking about, I'm left, I'm right, and I'm everything, well when they get ready to discriminate against you they don't say are you left or are you right,—they discriminate against you—period. You're a Negro and they discriminate against you and any other minority group. And I say that we've got to tell these people, these "Uncle Toms," pull up and get together because we're going to ride this train together. Black and white alike. You know women have made their place in the world, they have fought through the ages. There's no field today that a woman hasn't stepped out in. She's fought on the battle field, she's fought in the fields, she's helped raise the crops, and raised children. For what? To send them to a battle field to fight for freedom and democracy that we haven't got, and shed their blood.

Now it's time that we would wake up. And it's time that we would wake up all those people. They're still Uncle Tomming around, they've still got the bandana on their heads and they're still down on their knees licking the boots. Yeh, they're dead and we're going to kill them off gradually. They tell me that there's all kind of isms and they tell me about all kinds of isms, Socialism, Communism and everything else. You never hear them say anything about good old time Americanism. And that's what we want and that's what we're going to have, and I say here today we're going to take it or we're going to go get it. Or we'll have to forget it. And by golly here today we're not going to forget it. We're going out today and get the freedom and roll this train down the line, and heaven help anybody that gets in our way. And we are here to stay, black and white, native and foreign born, brothers and sisters alike. Thank you. (APPLAUSE)

UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER:

Brother Chairman, Brother Hood, Brother Robeson and members of the Negro Labor founding Council, I'd like to tell you in the first place that if you don't know who's going to put the bell on that cat, the Negro Women will do it. (CHEERS) And I want to tell you why, because the Negro women are on the offensive. And that means we're plowing through. It means if we're on that other seat on the Freedom Train, driving when that

other man goes to sleep we'll be awake still going through. (Cheers) I want you to know that when those women went down to Washington and demanded the freedom of Rosa Lee Ingram, they added this to it. That if you don't free Rosa Lee Ingram, we will march one thousand black women down to Georgia and free her. (APPLAUSE) And I want you to know that if Paul Robeson doesn't get his passoport to go across the waters and sing and carry the message of freedom in his songs for all the peoples on the world the Negro women can form a line across the ocean and he can go across on our backs. (CHEERS)

I think that we understand it so well, this role of action for Negro women, because the Negro women are so much oppressed more than all the other peoples in the whole country. And so I take great pleasure in reading this resolution. It's called the Economic Equality of Negro Women, but I wish, and I might add this statement — I was not included on a committee here but as a Negro woman I knew that I had to get on a Committee (APPLAUSE) so I walked in and I said I'm going to sit in on this committee — and I'll tell you another thing, when the Youth got up and said that they wanted representation and a resolution to go through and they couldn't get it passed through, I said, give it to me and I want you to know that at the next session that resolution will be read. I'd like now to read the resolution.

ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO WOMEN

IN THESE UNITED STATES, we, the Negro people, are subjected to all manner of indignities, injustices and inhumanities. We are denied equality in every phase of living. Negro women bear the greatest impact of this oppression. We die of poverty, loneliness, drudgery and disease. We have watched our husbands and fathers burned, quartered, hanged and electrocuted by hooded and unhooded mobs. We have seen our brothers beaten, shot and stamped to death by police. We have seen our sons rotting in prison, we've seen them poured into foreign wars in defense of this government which denies them equality on the battlefield and at home. We have seen our daughters raped and degraded, and when one dares rise in defense of her honor, she is jailed for life.

After three hundred odd years, we are still excluded from industry, offices and professions. Today, six out of every ten Negro women eke out an existence in domestic service. For all practical purposes, Negro women are still "slaves" in the master's household, maid to the mistress, mother to others' children. Hundreds of thousands of young and old women are still at work at back-breaking jobs, picking cotton.

The average income of the Negro family is half that of the white family. Only 20 per cent of all semi-skilled jobs and ten per cent of all the skilled jobs are held by Negro men. Negro women are employed in the lowest-paying jobs, are unable to support themselves adequately and certainly are unable to support a family. A large number of Negro women are themselves heads of families, supporting their children and other dependents.

Is there any wonder that the life span of a Negro woman is nine years less than that of her white sister, that her maternity death rate is three times greater?

One out of every two Negro women must work and is working for a living. We are among the first to feel the effects of unemployment, since we are forced to work at jobs considered "dispensable." Negro women have sought to escape low-paying domestic jobs by preparing themselves through existing educational facilities, but are systematically denied opportunities to acquire jobs at higher skills.

We are the victims of white supremacy and economic oppression in its crassest form. We have fought our way through all levels of struggle under these handicaps.

Negro women are proud that there developed from our ranks such freedom-fighters as Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Miranda Smith, and our present-day symbol of struggle, Rosa Lee Ingram.

The progress of the American workers and the Negro people can best be measured by the status of Negro women. To win freedom and equality for all workers, we call upon the trade union movement in particular to accept the challenge:

1. To win job opportunities for Negro women throughout industry, in offices, department stores, public utilities, air lines, etc.
2. We further call upon the support of organized labor and all Negro Labor Councils to support the organization of domestic workers, both in the North and South, and for improvement of their working conditions.
3. In the program of job training and upgrading, special attention be given to Negro women, especially the youth.
4. We have demonstrated our ability and willingness to give leadership to our families and other struggles. We demand the right to play a comparable role in government, industry, and the unions.

Mr. Chairman I move that this resolution be adopted.

SAM PARKS:

It's motioned and seconded that this resolution on Economic Equality for Negro women be adopted. Are you ready for the question? All those in favor signify by saying aye. (ENTIRE AUDIENCE SAYS AYE.) The ayes have it. Brothers and sisters in conjunction with this motion and I think that some of you may have heard about it. It's in regards to a Negro woman. In the city of New York recently in a club by the name of Stork, an internationally famous Negro woman was humiliated and subjected to discrimination. A white newspaper columnist was present, his name is Walter Winchell. Josephine Baker who came originally from St. Louis and who made her home in Paris and has been a star all over the world and acclaimed by people all over the world, was humiliated by the poison of American jimrow and American segregation. You know that when she was in Florida at the Copacabana Club she fought it there, when she was in Chicago at the Chicago theatre she fought it there, and I think that we here in this room, all us, should go on record, requesting of our officers, of our organization to write to Miss Baker, let her know that we stand firmly behind her. And also write to the Stork Club, Walter Winchell and everybody else. Let them know that we are against the things that happend to her and all such things that happen not only to the Negro woman but to the Negro man as well. I'd like to throw the floor open for a motion to this effect. I get such a motion? It's motioned and seconded that such a letter be sent.

APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES BY WHITE DELEGATES

FOREWORD

The National Negro Labor Council reproduces this statement of principles which was signed by most of the white delegates in attendance at our Founding Convention because we consider it an historic milestone in the relationship between Negro and white workers in America, and a long step forward in the common effort to weld the firmest bonds of Negro-white unity.

In an approach that is entirely new to the American Labor movement, the white delegates at the National Negro Labor Council Convention not only reject any concept that they are called upon to lead Negro workers in a fight for Negro rights, but in a self critical mood, spell out the responsibility of white workers in fighting to bring other white workers to the support of the Negro people.

We feel that this document deserves the serious appraisal of every trade union leader, Negro and white, in the American Labor Movement.

WE, THE WHITE DELEGATES to this Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council, have been profoundly impressed by what we have seen and experienced here.

We see here a mighty demonstration of the new temper and spirit which stirs and moves the Negro people of America.

In vast areas of the world, the white man is on trial. The colored peoples of the world are demanding freedom and they are making those demands for an end to every manifestation of oppression and discrimination, whether it be in governments, in nations, in communities, in trade unions, in any kind of organization.

We hail the founding of this new movement which means the Negro unionists are now taking their rightful place of leadership in the developing fight of Negro workers for their economic rights. We see the special significance of this movement of Negro workers taking its place side by side with other Negro organizations in the struggle for full freedom of the Negro people.

We are deeply conscious that the movement here being launched is not in the interest and for the benefit of Negro workers only. White workers and Negro workers have the same enemies, the same ultimate goals.

We know that every step forward for the Negro worker makes possible a step forward for the white worker. We know too that every new attack on the lives and rights of Negro workers and their families holds within it the seed of a fresh assault on the lives and rights of white workers. One cannot be defended without a vigorous, militant defense of the other.

The Ciceros of 1951 do not take place in a vacuum. They are cut out of the same cloth as the wage freeze, mounting taxes, sky-rocketing prices, the Taft-Hartley and McCarran Acts, and all the other attacks on all workers.

Especially, in the deep South do we see the close tie between the interests of white and Negro workers. There the exploitation of both Negro and white workers is even more intense than in the industrial centers of the North.

What white workers do to smash Jim Crow can no longer be done in the spirit of the Boy Scout performing his good deed for the day. It can be done only in the frank and honest recognition of the fact that we white workers can achieve gains only to the extent that we do our part to forge genuine Negro-white unity.

Unity on that basis—on the basis of an alliance in which the white worker does his part as a responsibility in his own self-interest rather than as a favor—can mean that we all move ahead together.

It means that the balance of political power in the deep South can be taken from the hands of the southern landlords and Dixiecrat congressmen and placed in the hands of the people—where it belongs. It means that the balance of economic power which now spells out the super-exploitation of divided Negro and white workers alike can be taken from the hands of northern corporations.

On every hand, vast numbers of Negro workers—both North and South—are demonstrating in a thousand ways their boundless determination that this time the Freedom Train will roar through to its destination, no matter how big the road blocks thrown in its path.

In effect our Negro brothers are saying to us: "Take heed, brother, there is something new here! We are asking for your cooperation, but not your permission!"

We, the white delegates at this Convention, accept the challenge! We embrace the new and clearer concept of Negro-white unity which is required here and now—today.

Under that concept, we have a special responsibility, the responsibility to bring more and more white workers into the fight for full freedom for all.

We are not misled by the white labor leaders who spread the malicious slander that this is "dual unionism" in a desperate attempt to cover up their own failure to fight for Negro rights.

We, too, are determined that the Freedom Train shall roll once more!

To these ends, we white trade unionists will accept the responsibility of seeking the support of all white workers for the program of action of this Convention.

We pledge to start in our own shops, locals and unions:

To help and encourage the formation and development of Negro Labor Councils all over America.

To press the proposed campaign for establishing a Fair Employment Practices Commission by Executive Order of the president.

To step up the fight for jobs for Negroes, to assure up-grading of Negro workers, to break through the lily-white departments and shops, and to guarantee that Negro workers are given full opportunity to achieve positions of union leadership.

GREETINGS TO THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL FROM THE DINING CAR AND RAILROAD FOOD WORKERS UNION DELEGATION

BROTHERS AND SISTERS:

The railroad industry is a classical illustration of the dangers of discrimination, white chauvinism and Jim Crow in the labor movement and its destructive effects on the wage and working standards of the workers. Due to this discrimination and the craft union principles of the railroad unions, railroad workers can never present a solid front in any given movement, whether it is wage demands, better conditions, pensions or any other issue.

Discrimination against the Negro in labor must be recognized by all workers as the weapon of the bosses who use it to negate the workers' fight for better conditions.

Discrimination against Negroes is one of the cancers that will slowly destroy the labor movement in the United States, unless this cancer is removed.

On the other hand, wherever there is Negro and white unity in a union there you will find better conditions and higher wages.

This is not an accident. This is the result of the ability of the workers to understand the benefits accruing because of their unity. Too many workers, even today accept the theory that Negro workers are not entitled to the same pay of white workers when doing the same job. This weakness is due, in part, to the failure of responsible trade union leaders to bring home to the workers the fact that such a theory is not to his best interests, but is a weapon used by the bosses to divide

the workers. These workers must be made to understand that when they permit a lowering of the wage scale to accommodate themselves to the white supremacist concept, they immediately establish a precedent that they cannot upset later on when it affects them.

The railroad labor lily-white Jim Crow movement is one of — if not — the weakest labor organizations in the country today. While this is not entirely due to its Jim Crow policies alone, there is no doubt that Jim Crow is a strong factor. In this industry the operating departments exclude the Negro worker from the unions. As a result of this, the Negroes in the operating department were forced to establish separate unions to protect themselves against both the railroad companies and the lily-white unions.

A brief history of their struggles will serve to highlight the meaning of this discrimination:

In the early days of the railroads many jobs were held by Negroes, such as firemen, brakemen, and occasionally engineers. Due to the arduous and dirty nature of these jobs at that time, the white workers were not concerned that Negroes held them. However, with the modern improvements in the railroad industry, the white workers soon began to displace the Negroes from these jobs. This was accomplished through the cooperation of the lily-white unions and the railroad companies between which certain secret agreements were made that prohibited the hiring and promotion of Negroes, and at the same time replacing them with white workers. As a result of this condition Negroes were forced to organize themselves into all-Negro unions to stop their elimination from the industry.

The obvious price of this unholy alliance between the lily-white unions and the railroad companies is a lowering of the wage and working standards of the workers and a deterioration of these unions.

There is a further weakness in the railroad unions that bears more directly on the work of this conference. This has to do with the non-operating unions, many of them have Negro members, most of whom are relegated to Jim-Crow auxiliaries.

These unions, about seventeen, are all separate entities and work together only in national movements and are committed to the principle of craft unionism.

There are Negro units in the railroad industry: the Pullman Porters, the Dining Car Workers, and the Red Caps.

Due to the craft unionism and the anti-Negro position of most of these non-operating unions, the Pullman Porters were forced to develop their own union under the "leadership" of A. Philip Randolph, while the Dining Car Workers were set up in Jim-Crow units of the Hotel and Bartenders International, and the Negro Red Caps under Willard Townsend.

Already the obstructive tactics of Randolph have been discovered and to a certain extent have been rectified by the rank and file porters. The misleadership of Townsend of the Red Caps has been exposed and cut short.

In 1947 dining car workers started a movement to pull out of the racketeer controlled Bartenders International in order to protect their seniority rights, job rights and the right to be upgraded, and are now building a union that will defend their interests as Negro railroad workers in the future. Dining car workers have set up a rank and file union known as the Dining Car and Railroad Food Workers Union and have been successful in winning bargaining rights on the Pennsylvania, the largest railroad in the country. Collective bargaining elections are expected to be held soon on the Southern Pacific. Similar elections are being prepared on the New York central and other big roads.

This new union within itself will guarantee that 22,000 dining car workers in the railroad industry will make policy and give leadership to the best interests of dining car workers and to the Negro people. This new union will do for dining car workers in the railroad industry what

the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union did for the same class of workers in the marine industry.

The new Dining Car and Railroad Food Workers Union is appealing to this Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council for coperation and support. With this support this new union can achieve the liberation and bring first-class citizenship of Negro dining car workers in the railroad industry. This can only be brought about on the basis of Negro and white unity on the railroads.

Fraternally,

DANIEL BENJAMIN, *Vice President, Eastern District, New York.*

RALPH TURNER, *National Organization Director, Chicago.*

WILLIAM H. LOCKHART, *Eastern District, New York.*

LEROY WILSON, *Vice President, Southwestern District, St. Louis.*

KENNETH GARNER, *Midwestern District, Chicago.*

HAWARD FOWLER, *Midwestern District, Chicago.*

RESOLUTIONS ON JOBS

IT IS a fundamental human right of all the American people to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. The key to this search for life, liberty and happiness is the right to a job and the opportunity to earn a decent living. Yet over 15,000,000 Negro Americans are denied an equal opportunity for a job.

The forces of Reaction and Big Business maintain a stranglehold on the political and economic life of America by constantly pitting white against black. This divide-and-conquer tactic has driven down the living standards of all the workers. While the living standards of all the workers suffer, the Negro worker is denied even an opportunity for a job in most industries.

The average annual income of the Negro family is 55 per cent below the general average for the country as a whole, and only 40 per cent of the income estimated as necessary to sustain the minimum standards of health and decency. In New York City tuberculosis in the Harlem community has increased by 44 per cent. The denial of the right of Negroes to a job in industry is not just a matter of health. It means no money for doctors and hospital bills. It means no money for clothes and fuel. It means no money for food for the wife and children. It means ten years less of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

With an annual income already far below the minimum requirements of health and decency, the future looms even darker for the Negro worker. As prices climb and taxes skyrocket, the pressure on the Negro family almost reaches the breaking point. Life becomes just an unrelenting daily struggle to survive.

While Big Business and its stooges in government on one hand proclaim to all the world that it stands for freedom and democracy, and on the other hand a new tide of attacks are launched against Negroes.

Negro workers continue to find it increasingly difficult to find jobs in industry after industry. Promotions and upgradings to the more skilled and better paying jobs are denied the Negro. He is almost completely excluded from the crafts. Even industries which garner millions of dollars in profits from the meager and hard-earned dollars of the Negro wage earner close the door to him for a job, even in his own community.

The Negro woman, who is forced to work to help her husband sustain the breath of life for them and their family, finds every door for a job closed. In order to work, she is confined to domestic service or the most miserable and menial jobs in industry. The average yearly earnings of the Negro woman in 1948 was $492.00, as compared with $1142.00 for white women, which is way below the national average for men.

The struggle on economic issues and for a job is basic to the struggle for Negro rights. It will become more important

as the attacks on the living standards of the people increase.

It is this struggle for jobs and economic equality that is the weakest in the fight for Negro liberation.

Therefore be it resolved that this Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council calls for an immediate end to the discriminatory hiring practices existing throughout industry and government employment in America, and toward that end to launch:

1. An immediate fight to end discrimination in hiring in shops and factories in all communities, with special attention directed to all the lily-white shops and industries.
2. An intensive campaign for upgrading of Negroes throughout industry,
3. In order to secure maximum support for jobs and upgrading, that all unions, whether AFL, CIO, Independent, or Railroad, as a matter of policy be urged to adopt the model no-discrimination clause adopted at the 1950 Chicago Conference.
4. We place major emphasis on breaking through on apprenticeship training programs to guarantee job opportunities for Negro workers on skilled jobs and in the crafts.

Be it further resolved that this Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council call for an immediate end to the flagrant and glaring job discriminations that exists in the industries servicing Negro communities, such as utilities, bakeries, department stores, communications, etc. The Convention further calls upon all its affiliated Councils to at once initiate campaigns to mobilize the full support of their respective communities for this fight.

Be it finally resolved that this Convention calls for a nation-wide fight for a minimum of 100,000 new jobs in the industries, shops, departments, offices, crafts, skilled trades and government employment which now deny equal job opportunities for Negro workers. This campaign for jobs must center around three main objectives: Jobs for Negro women, cracking lily-white shops, and a general fight for up-grading throughout industry. We call upon our affiliated Councils, white allies, trade unions, and all fighters for freedom to support this campaign for 100,000 new jobs and guarantee its successful conclusion by May 15, 1952.

RESOLUTION ON FEPC

While the Federal Government collects millions of dollars in taxes from the American Negro, it denies him an equal opportunity for a job. Federal taxes finance billions of dollars in government contracts which are let to companies which are guilty of the most flagrant discrimination in employment practices. New Taft-Hartley Laws are enacted under the guise of phony "right to work" laws in state and local communities, which endanger the rights of all workers.

Both major political parties in the national elections in 1948 campaigned on a platform of civil rights and FEPC legislation. Republicans and Democrats outdid one another in their promises to put an end to discrimination in employment. Yet the present Congress, composed of these same Democrats and Republicans, have buried every proposed piece of legislation with FEPC. Even President Truman ran and was elected on a platform of FEPC and civil rights promises. Three years have passed since his election and he has consistently refused to assume leadership in the fight for a national FEPC law. He has even failed to follow in the steps of the late President Roosevelt by issuing an FEPC Executive Order which would guarantee no discrimination in government employment and in firms accepting government contracts.

Therefore be it resolved that this Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council calls upon Congress and the administration for the immediate enactment of a national FEPC law. We further call upon the affiliated Councils to launch immediate campaigns for state and local FEPC laws.

Be it finally resolved that we demand that the President of the United States issue a National FEPC Executive Order and a Federal Fair Practices Committee to enforce it. To this end we call upon every affiliated Council, our white allies, every trade union, and all fighters for freedom to join us in a national petition campaign for a million signatures in support of our demand for this national executive order. To guarantee that no stone shall be left unturned in this fight for a right for equal job opportunity that we shall be prepared to deliver these million signatures around May 1, 1952, as a part of a national March on Washington.

RESOLUTION ON AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

IN AMERICA TODAY 85 per cent of the Negro people are tied to some form of agriculture. Any discussion of the main problems of the Negro people cannot ignore the agricultural question any longer.

For far too many years agricultural workers have had no audience for their problems. They have had no consistent organization to fight in their behalf. The trade union movement has been guilty of considering agriculture as a separate and distinct problem not affecting the trade unions directly.

Such an outlook has for years doomed hundreds of thousands of Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican and white workers to the most horrible conditions to be found in America. President Truman's Committee, appointed to find and report living conditions of agricultural workers, found that agricultural workers were living worse than hogs in some States. Once Mr. Truman's report was made, the problem of the agricultural workers was duly bound in booklet form and placed upon the shelves to gather dust.

1950 saw the birth of the Agricultural Workers Union. This Union's field stretches from New York to Florida, amongst field workers, both migrant and permanent farm workers. Members of this Union are faced with Jim Crow at its worst. Police terror is the daily threat.

FRANCES WILLIAMS

Annual wages often are lower than $800.00.

Since Agricultural workers can't show residence in each state in which they travel, they are denied even emergency hospitalization, social scurity, the right to vote and the other normal rights of our citizens.

Jim Crow will rule as long as 11 million Negro people are shackled to the slavery of present day farm conditions.

Be it resolved, that the National Negro Labor Council endorse the efforts of the Agricultural Workers Union and any other organization that may strive to organize the agricultural workers of America.

Be it further resolved that the N.N.L.C. take steps to bring before the entire trade union movement the plight of America's agricultural workers. That organizational contact be established between the N.N.L.C. and organizations working amongst farm laborers. That financial aid and leadership be offered farm workers in their organizing efforts.

RESOLUTION ON COLONIALISM

ALL OVER Asia and Africa and in the islands of the sea many hundreds of mil-

lions of dark skinned peoples are surging forward into determined struggle for freedoms that include the right of self government and full control of the natural resources that abound throughout the vast areas. The Asian and African peoples are serving notice upon the exploiters and oppressors of mankind that a dark era in world history is rapidly drawing to a close.

For hundreds of years a continuous flow of the natural and created wealth has been gouged out of the lands soaked by the blood and sweat of the inhabitants while whole nations of people have been enslaved and robbed of all human dignity. Except for the fact that the Negro people are not physically separated from the nation of people that oppresses them, there is a difference only in degree between the lot of colonial peoples of the world and the lot of the Negro people of America. All such people are denied economic, political and social freedom. They have been ruthlessly beaten, imprisoned and murdered—men, women, and children—the better to preserve the super profits that industrialists and bankers reap from semi-slave labor.

The Negro people understand perhaps better than any other national group of American people that there can be no peace and no security and no genuine progress in the world as long as the aspirations of the colonial people for full freedm is met with the force and violence of armed might. Certainly, we know that The National Negro Labor Council, therefor extends a fraternal handclasp of brotherhood to all oppressed peoples everywhere and particularly to those who have joined together to engage in positive struggle for their freedom.

CONSTITUTION PREAMBLE

WE, THE MEMBERS of the Negro Labor Councils, believe that the struggle of the Negro people for first-class citizenship based on economic, political and social equality is in vain unless we as Negro workers, along with our white allies, are united to protect our people (Negro) against those forces who continue to deny us full citizenship.

Realizing that the old forms of organizations which were dedicated to the fight for first-class citizenship for Negro people have been unable to bring full economic opportunity for the Negro worker in the factory, the mine, the mill, the office, in government; to stop wanton police killings of Negroes throughout the land; to stop mob violence against us; to bring the franchise to our brothers and sisters in the South, and gain our full say in the political life of our country with proper representation in government on all levels: to buy and rent homes everywhere unrestricted; to use the public facilities, restaurants, hotels and recreational facilities in town and country, we form the National Negro Labor Council (N.N.L.C.), an organization which unites all Negro workers with other suffering minorities and our allies among the white workers, and base ourselves on rank and file control regardless of age, sex, creed, political beliefs, or union affiliation, and pursue at all times a policy of militant struggle to improve our conditions.

We pledge ourselves to labor unitedly for the principles herein set forth, to perpetuate our councils and work concertedly with other organizations that seek improvement for Negro and other oppressed minorities.

We further pledge ourselves to work unitedly with the trade unions to bring about greater cooperation between all sections of the Negro people and the trade union movement; to bring the principles of trade unionism to the Negro workers everywhere; to aid the trade unions in the great unfinished task of organizing the South on the basis of fraternity, equality and unity; to further unity between black and white workers everywhere.

DRAFT PROGRAM OF ACTION

The program of action that flows out of this Founding Convention must reflect in life itself and in its concrete application the specialized role of the National

Negro Labor Council in the general field of struggle for Negro rights. Since we have said that our primary and immediate mission is the achievement of economic equality for the Negro people, it follows naturally that the overriding theme of our program of action should be a concrete, measurable and down-to-earth fight for jobs for Negro Americans, new jobs and better jobs, with higher pay and better working conditions and without discrimination. The demand for national, state and local FEPC, while giving voice to our bread and butter needs, is not a new demand, nor is it in itself a departure from forms of struggle for Negro rights that have been conducted over the past several years throughout America.

But when the demand for an FEPC is joined with a day-to-day, city-to-city, fight for jobs, with a measurable national quota of jobs to be won, and with each local NNLC Council accepting quotas of actual jobs to be won, by campaigns in the community and at the shop gates, then we add a new ingredient, namely, the real life fight for FEPC that is not waiting on any law to be passed. We then place our demands for FEPC in the hands of the workers, Negro and white, who in joining with us in raising demands for specific jobs at a 1,000 specific places around the country, form the type of mass political pressure best calculated to make the powers that be in Washington and in the States and Communities give serious consideration to FEPC by government action. It is this type of campaign for jobs and FEPC that is offered in the following program of action to this Convention:

I. THE FIGHT FOR 100,000 JOBS

This Convention goes on record as immediately launching a national fight for 100,000 new jobs by May 15th for Negro workers in areas of employment now barred to Negroes. The newly elected Executive Board in consultation with the various NNLC local councils shall be empowered to break down the overall national quota of 100,000 into local NNLC quotas. This campaign for 100,000 jobs to be conducted generally in two stages:

A) The fight for jobs in the Negro community. The most striking evidence of economic Jim-Crow exists glaringly in every Negro ghetto in America. Utilities, bakeries, department stores, etc., located in and servicing the Negro community, and drawing out of that community thousands of dollars profit daily, arrogantly refuse to hire Negroes in any above menial capacities. The full organized weight of the Negro community, through boycotts, picket lines, etc., led by local NNLC councils, can produce in this campaign a substantial number of jobs toward the local quotas with a relatively small active organization.

In this campaign the following steps should be taken:

(1) Local trade union leaders and leaders in the Negro community should be invited to become a part of the NNLC jobs campaign committee.

(2) This committee should meet with the companies located in or servicing the Negro community and demand an end to discriminatory hiring in terms of specific jobs. In many cases this step alone will produce some jobs.

(3) Failing to get satisfaction from the company, the campaign must then be carried to the community with organized applications for jobs, affidavits recording the company's refusal to hire, picket lines, and boycotts where practicable, with letters of protest, resolutions from local unions, to the company and city authorities and where any government connection or control exists, to the Department of Labor in Washington, D. C.

(B) The fight for jobs should be entered into upon the momentum of having won jobs in the community campaign. The campaign for jobs in industry must center around three main objectives—jobs for Negro women, cracking of lily-white shops, and a general fight for upgrading throughout the industry. Here

in industry we come to grips with the basic official Jim Crow policy of the U.S. Government. The same general steps should be followed as listed above, with a shifting emphasis of the point of pressure to the seat of government itself —Washington, D. C.

II. THE FIGHT FOR JOBS FOR NEGRO WOMEN

The special needs of Negro women must be the constant, and conscious, concentration within the overall job campaign, which must include:

(1) Special campaign for hiring Negro women as the single demand.

(2) In every job campaign, special demands for the hiring of Negro women.

(3) Moving the trade unions into fighting specifically for jobs for Negro women.

(4) A special committee on jobs for Negro women in industry, to be established in the National Office of NNLC to guarantee this emphasis.

(5) 1,000,000 signatures for F.E.P.C.

III. THE FIGHT FOR 1,000,000 SIGNATURES FOR NATIONAL FEPC

The fight for model contract clauses adopted at the Chicago Conference for Negro Rights in June of 1950 was successful where a campaign was conducted. The results in UE, where the whole official job program of the Chicago Conference was adopted as official union policy by the United Electrical Workers international union is an outstanding example of how heightened unity of Negro and white workers around a program for Negro rights can be achieved if it is fought for in our trade union bodies. The model contract clause is reproduced below:

Model Contract Clause

"Regardless of any other contractual provision of this agreement, management agrees that:

A. No discrimination in interviewing or hiring applicants for employment as well as no discrimination against employees during and after their trial period of employment because of color, race, sex, age, religious or political beliefs.

B. Guarantee against discrimination shall in addition apply to promotion, upgrading, apprenticeship, job training, and discharges.

C. In the event of layoffs, every effort shall be made to maintain gains achieved in applying this policy and in the event of disagreement in relation to any issue arising out of the application of this clause, shall be subject to the grievance machinery of this contract.

D. It is the purpose of this contract clause to guarantee in collective bargaining and by contractual rights the application of the union's policy for the protection and improvement of job opportunities for Negro workers and other minorities.

How this Model Contract Clause Campaign will be carried out:

(A) Copies of this Model Clause to be circulated for adoption to all union locals, international bodies, etc.

(1) All unions, whether AFL, CIO, Ind., RR, will be urged to adopt this Model Clause as a matter of union policy with the replies of all unions being made public.

(2) Copies of Model Clause to be sent to the entire trade union press.

(3) Every effort to be made to get the above Model Clause endorsed by trade union conventions: AFL, CIO, Ind., RR.

(4) We call on all unions who succeed in getting such a Model Clause incorporated in their contracts to immediately organize actions in the shops to guarantee that the bosses live up to its provisions.

(5) Every effort must be made to win the support for such a Model Clause from the Urban League, NAACP, American Jewish Labor Council, American Jewish

Congress, B'nai B'rith, Negro churches, Catholic, Protestant and other religious groupings and all of the fraternal, civic and social organizations of the Negro community.

IV. THE FIGHT FOR FULL FREEDOM

While training our main guns on the economic front, this Convention is aware of the necessity of joining in the general struggle for full freedom of the Negro people in many fields of action. We specifically dedicate ourselves to join in this general struggle by:

(A) Making every effort to move the trade union movement into active struggle for the full freedom of the Negro people. We must guarantee that the trade union movement recognizes its responsibility to take leadership in the struggle for Negro rights as a primary action against the rising tide of fascism in America and as a first line of defense of the labor movement itself. This must be spelled out and translated in union after union into action around specific issues such as:

(1) The fight against the poll tax and for the full participation of Negroes in the political life of the nation, North and South.

(2) Anti-Lynch legislation.

(3) Abolition of Jim Crow in public places (especially in the vicinity of union halls.)

(4) Official union action in cases of police brutality against Negro union members.

(5) The right to integrated housing. (The trade union movement should have led the defense of the Clark family in Cicero.)

(B) Joining with and supporting other organizations (such as the NAACP demand to free Rosa Ingram) in their struggle for the advancement of Negro rights.

(C) In addition to, and not as a substitute for, the two above-outlined steps, initiating in our own right such struggle toward full freedom as may be dictated in a given situation and at a given time.

All the material in this book was transcribed from tape recordings made at the convention in Cincinnati. Any errors or omissions are due in the main to the necessity of changing the reels and other mechanical difficulties. Wherever possible all speakers have been identified with their union affiliations.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-04-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio
September 23, 1952

MEMO FILE:

Re: 44-35 Sub 364 Sub A

In accordance with the instructions set forth in SAC Letters #87(b) dated September 9, 1952, and #89(g) dated September 16, 1952, the captioned file is being closed.

All serials formerly contained in this file (i.e. 1 through 210) are now identified as Serial 1 of Cleveland File [redacted] b7D

PAUL J. SHINE

AWP:AO

b7D

[redacted]

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
SEP 23 1952
FBI - CLEVELAND

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : SAC

DATE: October 1, 1952

FROM : SA [redacted]

b6
b7C

SUBJECT: [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] has made available the following literature:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 8/24/82 BY SP2 TAP/JAC

1. A leaflet advertising a National Conference To Win Amnesty For Smith Act Victims to be held June 20, 1952.

2. A leaflet entitled "Suggestions For Action Regarding The National Conference To Win Amnesty For Smith Act Victims".

3. A leaflet entitled: "Some Facts About Smith Act Victims" which is also in connection with the National Conference to Win Amnesty For Smith Act Victims.

4. A letter from ABNER GREEN on the stationery of the National Conference To Win Amnesty For Smith Act Victims.

5. A mimeographed letter from PEGGY DENNIS on the stationery of the National Conference To Win Amnesty For Smith Act Victims.

To Bureau 3-14-53 [illegible]

6. A report on the proceedings of the National Conference To Win Amnesty For Smith Act Victims.

7. A letter from H. C. MOSS, Southern Director of the Progressive Party to JULIA O. BROWN.

8. A copy of "The Independent" for June 13, 1952.

9. A copy of "The Independent" for June 20, 1952.

10. A mimeographed throw-away entitled "Glenville Housing Survey Fact Sheet" put out by the Glenville Club of the Progressive Party.

11. A receipt for $10.00 from the Sojourners For Truth and Justice dated May 23, 1952. — 1A(6)

BOC:rlk

[redacted] b7D

cc: 1 - 100-19935 (NNLC)
1 - 100-20073 (Sojourners for Truth and Justice)
1 - 100-18760 (PP)
1 - 100-17087 (CRC)

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
OCT 1 1952
FBI - CLEVELAND

b7D [redacted]

MEMO SAC

12. A letter with the letterhead of Sojourners For Truth And Justice signed by LOUISE PATTERSON, National Executive Secretary.

13. A blank registration sheet for the Sojourners For Truth And Justice.

14. A mimeographed throw-away entitled "Victory At Sears Will Break The Job-Freeze", issued by the Cleveland Negro Labor Council.

15. A conference schedule advertising a two day conference of the Cleveland Negro Labor Council to be held June 28,29, 1952, at 7610 Cedar Avenue.

This literature is being placed in File No. [redacted] b7D

6-26-52

CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

SATURDAY, JUNE 28TH

DISCUSSION TOPICS

10:00 AM JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN WAR AND PEACE
11:00 AM ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF NEGRO WOMEN
12:30 PM LUNCH
2:00 PM FEPC , LEGISLATIVE AND DIRECT ACTION
3:15 PM THE FUTURE FOR NEGRO YOUTH
4:30 PM ADJOURNMENT

SUNDAY, JUNE 29TH

PROGRAM OF ACTION

10:30 AM FOR AN ECONOMY OF FULL EMPLOYMENT AND PRODUCTION
11:15 AM JOBS FOR NEGRO WOMEN
12 NOON FEPC, EFFECTIVE ACTION
12:45 PM A FIGHTING PROGRAM FOR NEGRO YOUTH
1:30 PM SUMMARY
2:00 PM ADJOURNMENT

LOCAL UNIONS, CHURCHES, CIVIC, FRATERNAL AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS ARE INVITED TO SELECT DELEGATES OR OBSERVERS. INDIVIDUALS (DOMESTIC WORKERS, UNORGANIZED WORKERS, RANK AND FILE) ARE INVITED.

REGISTRATION FEE $1.00

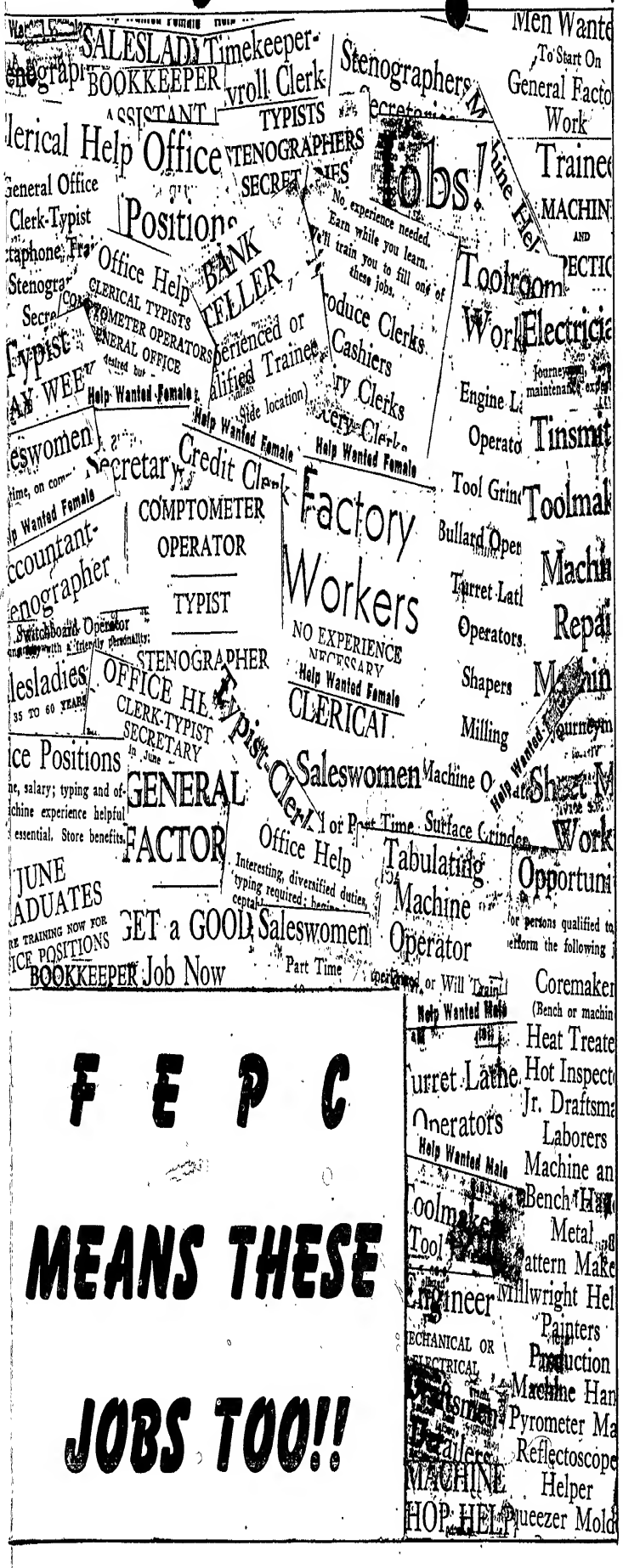
FOR FURTHER INFORMATION WRITE OR PHONE:

THE CLEVELAND NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

5311 WOODLAND AVE., SUITE 4

EXPRESS 1 5529 EXPRESS 1 5493

dpowa#87



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 03-17-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Call to a Conference on Jobs and the Rights of Negro Women

ECONOMIC POSITION OF NEGRO WORKERS

15 MILLION AMERICANS ARE SUFFERING FROM POVERTY AND EARLY DEATH BECAUSE OF JOB DISCRIMINATION. 150,000 live here in Cleveland. Led by the example of the huge corporations, employers as a class deny employment to Negro workers simply because they are Negroes. It is a rare exception, indeed, when a Negro worker is employed in a classification where he can use his highest skill. Training and apprenticeship programs in industry are barred to the Negro worker. The only possible result of this state of affairs is a condition of continuous poverty in the working-class Negro communities, with disease, malnutrition and congested living quarters all carving precious years off of the span of life for every Negro man and woman.

The 1950 Census and other statistical reports show that the status of the Negro is growing WORSE, not better. Negro men held 9.8 percent of all male jobs in 1944, but only 8.3 percent in 1950. Negro men held 3.3 percent of all professional and semi-professional jobs in 1944, but only 2.6 percent in 1950.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF NEGRO WOMEN

The economic treatment of Negro women is one of the nation's major scandals. Negro women have to work at the most menial jobs and at the lowest rates of pay in order to add to the pitifully small family incomes. The average Negro family with THREE OR MORE workers had an annual income in 1950 of only $2,556, or $659 less than the average white family with only ONE worker.

The 1950 Census shows 451 female classifications of work. Almost four-fifths of Negro women workers were employed in the five lowest paid classifications. Three out of every five Negro women workers are forced to earn a livlihood as domestic workers or as menial service workers outside the home. The bulk of Negro women are excluded from basic industry and almost entirely from the better-paid white collar field.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

FEPC legislation has become a political football with Democrats, Republicans, and Dixiecrats all equally responsible at one time or another for betrayal after betrayal of pre-election promises. The employer dominated Congress has served the industrial bosses well. Negro workers made gains from 1940 to 1944 with the aid of FDR's wartime FEPC. It is important to note that losses followed AFTER Congress killed off this wartime measure by choking off its funds. Without FEPC, although employment increased after Korea, there was no decrease in discrimination by the employers in war industry.

WHO PROFITS FROM DISCRIMINATION?

Discrimination of every kind brings enormous profits to the employers. A steel magnate estimates that it will cost the employers 5 billion dollars to bring southern wage rates up to those of northern industry. A leading New York merchant counts up another five billion if Negroes were employed at their present highest skill. The living standards of white workers are pulled down to the degree that jimcrow is practiced. Southern white workers earn 20 percent less than northern workers on the same jobs because of the myth of "white supremacy". Every good union member is beginning to learn that the wage structure of any shop is tied to the lowest wage rate in that shop. When this lesson is well learned, it will mean 10 billion dollars more in the pockets of the workers if only these two instances of job discrimination are wiped out. The fight for no discrimination protects everybody.

THE BITTER FRUIT OF DISCRIMINATION

Job discrimination against the Negro people does not stop only with loss of income to Negro families. It saps the very life-blood out of a democratic society and breeds many forms of inhuman brutality suffered by the Negro people at the hands of the defenders of "white supremacy". Surely there must follow discrimination in housing, health, education, and political affairs. And finally a ruthless suppression of all who dare to propose and fight for a change in this way of life. We are now where Malcolm Ross, former chairman of FDR's FEP Committee in 1945 said we would be if fair employment practices were not continued: "The future of race relations in America depends on a number of great decisions made piecemeal yet adding up to a major choice. Either we must grant equal work opportunities to Negroes and Mexican Americans or we must suppress by force their inevitably increasing demands for equal opportunity."

WE WON'T WAIT 80 YEARS LONGER

One of the first steps to first-class citizenship is the right to work. But we have learned that the rights of mankind must be won through struggle. Many, many years ago Frederick Douglas wrote: "Without struggle, there is no progress." Therefore, we, the Cleveland Negro Labor Council, call upon all Negro working people and our democratic minded white brothers and sisters in the labor unions, as well as all other freedom loving people to come together in a conference to plan a program of struggle to win equal job opportunities for Negro working men and women.

Two Day Conference American Woodman's Hall 7610 Cedar Ave.

Saturday-June,28th and Sunday-June,29th

VICTORY AT SEARS WILL BREAK THE JOB-FREEZE

6-20-52 JB

The Cleveland Negro Labor Council has opened up a drive for 5,000 new jobs for Negro men and women in Cleveland's industries and business places. This means opening up doors now closed to Negro workers.

The first campaign is against the Sears Roebuck store on Carnegie where no Negro women are employed as saleswomen or office workers. Sears has training classes for new employees, but the manager claims no Negro women have applied for these jobs. But Sears does hire Negro women as maids, cleaning women and cafeteria workers. WE DEMAND THAT SEARS PUT ON NEGRO WOMEN AS SALESWOMEN AND IN THEIR OFFICE.

This is the fight that must be won if Negro women and men are ever to work at their highest skills or to be trained for skilled jobs. Cleveland's FEPC ordinance doesn't have enough teeth to do this job. The daily papers are full of ads for male and female help wanted. But Negro men and women are turned away from these jobs empty-handed every day.

We say it's time to get our heads together and lick this job-freeze. The heat is on at Sears right now. You can help win this first victory at Sears. Your church can help. Your lodge can help. So can your local union and your club and your friends and neighbors.

Negro and white workers have handed out thousands of leaflets to Sears customers and have received hearty support for out demands from both white and Negro shoppers at the Sears store. But Sears management has said nothing but "NO" to the demand for Negro saleswomen and office workers.

The Mayor's FEP Committee, labor unions, NAACP, Urban League, ministers and community leaders have been called upon to support this demand. Now YOU are asked to come to a conference to plan the kind of action needed to win this fight so that together we can tackle some of the shops and plants and factories that are freezing YOU out.

JOBS CONFERENCE

Special attention to (skilled jobs
(jobs for Negro women

AMERICAN WOODMEN HALL
7610 Cedar Avenue

Saturday, June 28 – 10:00 AM to 12:30 PM
2:00 AM to 4:00 PM
Sunday, June 29 – 10:30 AM to 2:00 PM

Come as a delegate from your union, church, club, or lodge. Or come as an individual. Just so you're willing to fight together for the kind of freedom that means decent jobs for everybody. The registration fee of $1.00 will be a buck well invested.

Issued by: Cleveland Negro Labor Council
5311 Woodland Avenue, Suite 4
EXpress 1-5529 EXpress 1-5493

dpowa#87

National Conference to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims
Golden Ballroom, New York City
June 14th, 1952

JHB

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

You can help launch this nationwide campaign to win amnesty for Smith Act Victims. Some of the ways in which you can participate in this campaign immediately include:

1. Report to your organization on the deliberations and decisions of this National Conference. (A summary of the proceedings will be mailed to you within one week's time.)

2. Get your organization to go on record endorsing and supporting this amnesty campaign. (Your organization can wire or write to the President urging that amnesty be granted Smith Act victims. Your organization could also vote a substantial contribution to help carry out the decisions of this National Conference.)

3. Get your friends, neighbors, and the members of your organization to send telegrams and letters to the President in support of amnesty. (A form telegram and a form letter is included with your Conference material.)

4. Organize a meeting or affair in your home or neighborhood to popularize the issue of amnesty and raise funds for this work. (For assistance, and for a speaker, get in touch with National Conference office, Room 643, 799 Broadway, New York City; telephone: GRamercy 3-6472.)

5. Send a birthday card to John Williamson, PMB 19353, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, today, or before June 23rd, which is his 49th birthday. (Printed birthday cards are available.) Order a quantity of the printed birthday cards - 100 for $2.00 - and get your friends and neighbors and the members of your organization to send them.

6. Send a letter to one of the metropolitan newspapers urging the editor to devote editorial space in support of the nationwide campaign to win amnesty for Smith Act victims.

7. Contribute - and get others to contribute - to help provide the finances needed for an effective campaign for amnesty.

National Conference to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims
Golden Ballroom, New York City
June 14, 1952

SOME FACTS ABOUT SMITH ACT VICTIMS

On June 4th, 1951 the United States Supreme Court upheld the conviction under the Smith Act of the eleven members of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, and they were ordered to begin serving their five year terms on July 2, 1951. Eight of them are now imprisoned, while three are political refugees.

The eight imprisoned men are:

Eugene Dennis, General Secretary of the Communist Party

Benjamin J. Davis, former New York City Councilman

John Williamson, Labor Secretary, Communist Party

Irving Potash, Manager of the Joint Board of the Furrier's Union

Jack Stachel, Educational Director, Communist Party

John Gates, Editor of the Daily Worker, New York newspaper

Carl Winter, Chairman of the Communist Party of Michigan

Gus Hall, Chairman of the Communist Party of Ohio

The three political refugees are:

Henry Winston, Organizational Secretary, Communist Party

Robert Thompson, Chairman of the New York State Communist Party

Gilbert Green, Chairman of the Illinois Communist Party

Dennis and Gates are in the Federal Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia.
Williamson and Winter are in the Federal Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pennsylvania.
Stachel is at the Federal Correctional Institution, Danbury, Connecticut.
Davis is at the Federal Penitentiary, Terre Haute, Indiana.
Potash is at the Federal Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas.
Hall is at the Federal Detention House, New York.

The eight men in prison are granted no special rights as to reading matter, as the Government refuses to recognize their status as political prisoners.

All are married, except Mr. Davis. Dennis, Williamson, Potash, Stachel, Winter, Hall, Winston, Thompson and Green have children, ranging in age from infants to early twenties.

Gates and Thompson served with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade defending the Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil War.

Winston, Hall, Gates and Thompson served in the armed forces of the United States during World War II. Thompson was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, the second highest award given by the United States, for gallantry in action.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE TO WIN AMNESTY FOR SMITH ACT VICTIMS

Conference Headquarters: Room 643, 799 Broadway, New York 3, New York

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1952, 1:00 P.M.
St. Nicholas Arena, 69 West 66th Street, New York, N. Y.

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June 5, 1952

Dear Bill:

I wonder whether it would be possible to arrange for one of the members of the Cleveland delegation to the National Conference to stay in New York until June 16 or 17 and go to Washington on a delegation from the Conference to call on the Justice Department, the White House, and others, to bring to them the decisions of the Conference.

I don't need the name of the person ~~xx~~ who can go to Washington until June 14th, when you get to the Conference.

With best regards.

Yours,

Abner Green

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SPONSORS

Dr. Jacob Auslander
Dr. Edward K. Barsky
Hon. Elmer Benson
John T. Bernard
Herbert Biberman
Prof. G. Murray Branch
Prof. Dorothy Brewster
Dr. Anton J. Carlson
Sarah Cleghorn
Muriel Draper
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Howard Fast
Clemens J. France
Prof. Royal W. France
Hugo Gellert
John T. Gojack
Abner Green
Dr. Ralph Gundlach
Robert Gwathmey
Rev. A. J. Hallington
Dashiell Hammett
Dr. Alphaeus W. Hunton
Grace Hutchins
Rev. Dr. John Paul Jones
Albert Maltz
Hon. Vito Marcantonio
Prof. John Marsalka
Carl Marzani
John T. McManus
Halois Moorhead
Scott Nearing
Father Clarence Parker
William L. Patterson
Anton Refregier
Bertha C. Reynolds
Paul Robeson
Waldo Salt
Alexander Saxton
Arthur Schutzer
C. LeBron Simmons
Thomas L. Slater
Jessica Smith
Prof. Louise P. Smith
Gale Sondergard
Maurice Sugar
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Prof. Gene Weltfish
Susan Woodruff
Rev. Elliot White

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE TO WIN AMNESTY FOR SMITH ACT VICTIMS

Conference Headquarters: Room 643, 799 Broadway, New York 3, New York

SATURDAY, JUNE 14, 1952, 1:00 P.M.
St. Nicholas Arena, 69 West 66th Street, New York, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

We enclose Summary Proceedings of the National Conference to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims.

We hope that you can arrange to report to your organization as soon as possible concerning the deliberations and decisions of this National Conference and secure the sooperation and support of your organization for this amnesty campaign.

We suggest that you seek to achieve the following objectives at this time:

1) Have your organization go on record in support of amnesty for the victims of the Smith Act.

2) Have your organization communicate its position to President Harry S. Truman, Washington, D.C., by wire, resolution or letter.

3) Have members of your organization send messages to the President in support of amnesty.

4) Have your organization vote a substantial contribution to help launch this amnesty campaign.

5) Notify us when you have reported to your organization and let us know what their response is.

We want to thank you for your participation in the National Conference and look forward to your continued cooperation and support as we put into effect the Program of Action adopted by the Conference in the fight to win amnesty for Smith Act victims.

Sincerely yours,

Peggy Dennis

Peggy Dennis
for the Continuations Committee

SPONSORS

Dr. Jacob Auslander
Dr. Edward K. Barsky
Hon. Elmer Benson
John T. Bernard
Herbert Biberman
Prof. G. Murray Branch
Prof. Dorothy Brewster
Dr. Anton J. Carlson
Sarah Cleghorn
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Gale Sondergard
Maurice Sugar
Dr. Harry F. Ward
Prof. Gene Weltfish
Susan Woodruff
Rev. Eliot White

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National Conference to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims
Golden Ballroom - New York City
June 14, 1952

SUMMARY PROCEEDINGS

Mrs. Peggy Dennis opened the Conference and greeted the delegates. Mrs. Dennis introduced as chairman of the Conference session Miss Jean Taylor, administrative secretary of the Civil Rights Congress of New York.

The invocation was delivered by Rev. Clarence E. Boyer, of the Emmanuel Presbyterian Church of New York.

Participants who addressed the Conference were:

Mercedes Arroyo, of the Puerto Rican community in New York, who discussed the treatment of more than 300 political prisoners in Puerto Rico.

Dr. Herbert Aptheker, who spoke of the history of amnesty movements in the United States.

John Abt, attorney for the Communist Party in the McCarran Act proceedings, who reported on the treatment of John Gates and his testimony before the McCarran Board in Washington, D. C.

Moe Fishman, secretary of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, who reported on the work his organization has done in fighting for John Gates and Robert Thompson, members of his organization.

Dr. Doxey Wilkerson, of the Jefferson School, who discussed the importance of the fight to win amnesty for Ben Davis.

Mrs. Esther Jackson, of the Families Committee of Smith Act Victims, spoke the manner in which the FBI has harassed the families of Smith Act refugees.

Pettis Perry, Communist Party leader now on trial at Foley Square.

Wives of the Smith Act Victims who addressed the Conference were Bertha Stachel, of New York; Mae Williamson, of New York; Lillian Green, of Chicago.

Credentials Committee

The Credentials Committee reported that there were 199 delegates participating in the Conference from the states of Minnesota, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and from the District of Columbia.

Resolutions Committee

A special message was sent to Nate Albert, in Pittsburgh, released from jail on June 14th after serving 23-month sentence for fighting against Jim Crow.

The resolutions adopted by the Conference are printed as an appendix.

Nominating Committee

The Nominating Committee proposed the election of a Continuations Committee of 50, which was approved. The committee placed in nomination the names of 34 individuals and recommended that the Continuations Committee be authorized to elect 16 more persons from various parts of the country. Approved by conference.

Messages Received

Messages were received by the Conference from: Albert Pezzati, board member, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; William Glazier, of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Washington; Maurice Becker; Hon. Vito Marcantonio; Rev. Eliot White; William Albertson, of Detroit; Otis Hood and Anne Burlak, of Boston; Labor Youth League of Michigan; Mary Van Kleeck; John T. McManus; Democratic Rights Council of Sydney, Australia; Central Committee, General Confederation of Labor, Rumania; National Solidarity Association of Japan; Harry Pollitt, chairman, Communist Party of Great Britain; Telephone, Telegraph and Radio Workers Union, Bulgaria; Trade Union International of Land, Air and Transport Workers, Bucharest; Trade Union International of Food and Tobacco Workers, Bulgaria.

PUBLIC RALLY

The Public Rally on Saturday evening, June 14th, was attended by 500 people. Prof. Royal Wilbur France, formerly of Rollins College, Florida, served as Chairman. Speakers at the Public Rally included:

William Jackson, international representative of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, of Chicago.

Bessie Mitchell, sister of Collis English, one of the Trenton Six, whose continued imprisonment on a frame-up indictment is jeopardizing his life.

Howard Fast, author and lecturer.

Rev. Richard Morford, secretary of the National Council for Soviet-American Friendhsip.

Manuel Magana, of the Spanish-American community in New York.

James Lustig, of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

Dr. Edward Barsky.

Carl Marzani.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Communist Party leader now in trial at Foley Square.

Wives of Smith Act victims who addressed the Public Rally were: Helen Winter, of Detroit; Edna Winston, of New York; Elizabeth Hall, of Cleveland.

A recording of the voices of Eugene Dennis and Henry Winston was played.

An appeal for funds by Carl Marzani resulted in a collection of $415.41.

National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims
Room 643, 799 Broadway
New York 3, N. Y.

Enclosed find $..... as a contribution to help carry on a nationwide campaign to win amnesty for Smith Act victims.

Name..... Address.....

National Conference to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims
Golden Ballroom - New York City
June 14, 1952

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

WHEREAS: It is now one year since the United States Supreme Court upheld the conviction of the eleven leaders of the Communist Party indicted under the thought control provisions of the Smith Act; and

Within this year many Americans have come to believe that the punishment meted out to these 11 men is unwarranted; many others believe that these political leaders did not have a fair trial; and still others now believe that the Smith Act they were accused of violating is itself anti-democratic and un-American; and

There has developed in this past year a growing demand for the repeal of the law under which these leaders of a minority political party were sentenced; and such organizations as the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union, civic and church organizations, and national conventions of labor groups like the steel, textile, clothing unions have all spoken out to condemn the Smith Act and the prosecutions taking place under it; and

We are convinced that the democratic rights of all Americans are in jeopardy as long as the injustice done to the convicted leaders of the Communist Party remains unchallenged; and we believe the declaration of an amnesty for those politically persecuted under the Smith Act is the practical way to redress this serious wrong; and

Presidential amnesty is a course hallowed by the rich traditions of the American people's victorious demands for justice and freedom for the victims of the Alien and Sedition Laws of 1798, and for the freedom of Eugene V. Debs and other victims of political persecution over the years; and such amnesty was granted in America's history by such Presidents as Thomas Jefferson, Warren Harding, and Calvin Coolidge; therefore, be it

RESOLVED: That this Conference proclaim the launching of a national campaign to win amnesty for the eleven leaders of the Communist Party now convicted and for all others who may be politically persecuted and convicted under the thought-control provisions of the Smith Act; and be be it further

RESOLVED: That to organize and conduct such a movement, this National Conference elect a Continuations Committee of 50, which shall be empowered to so organize itself and to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying on a sustained campaign for the realization of amnesty, for which purpose this Conference had been convened.

On Puerto Rico

RESOLVED: That this National Conference support and participate in all efforts to win amnesty for political prisoners in Puerto Rico, there being more than 300 political prisoners, including more than 30 women, in Puerto Rican jails.

Message to President Truman

One year has passed since the United States Supreme Court upheld the conviction of the eleven leaders of the Communist Party who were indicted under the thought-control provisions of the Smith Act. It has been a year of cruel punishment for these men and the wives and children from whom they were torn. It has also been a year in which the rights of the American people have been further jeopardized by intensified assaults on the Bill of Rights and the liberties of all sections of the American people. We feel that the continued imprisonment of of the leaders of the Communist Party creates a public atmosphere that is a source of constant danger to the preservation of democratic rights in this country. We call on you, therefore, to exercise your power to grant amnesty to these victims of the Smith Act, just as Presidents Thomas Jefferson, Warren Harding, and Calvin Coolidge exercised their amnesty power to free victims of political repression in their day.

Delegation to Washington

RESOLVED: That this Conference send a delegation to Washington, D. C., to inform government officials and national leaders of the decisions of this Conference, to raise there the demand for amnesty <u>now</u> for victims of the Smith Act, and especially to: (1) Place before the President of the United States the Statement on Amnesty adopted by this National Conference; (2) Discuss with the Director of the Bureau of U. S. Prisons, of the Department of Justice, a number of specific issues and needs of Smith Act victims now imprisoned; (3) See officials of the Department of Justice to demand that a stop be put to the current harassment, surveillance, and interference with the families of those political refugees convicted under the thought-control provisions of the Smith Act; and (4) Visit members of the United States Congress to discuss with them their possible participation in, and support for, the campaign for amnesty launched by this Conference.

Program of Action

RESOLVED: That the Continuations Committee set up by this Conference, for the purpose of planning and carrying sustained activity and campaigns to realize amnesty for Smith Act Victims, is authorized to develop all activities it feels will help achieve this goal, including the following:

1. Campaign for a $25,000 Amnesty Fund.
2. Issue a special Post-Card for Amnesty to be sent to the President.
3. Carry through a campaign for telegrams to the President.
4. Circularize trade unions, churches, Negro, civic, community, and other organizations for resolutions and telegrams to the President. A special public appeal to the CIO, ADA, ACLU, NAACP, and all other organizations which have taken a public position in opposition to the Smith Act to join in a common movement calling for amnesty for those convicted under the Smith Act.
5. Develop a mass signature campaign for amnesty.
6. Organize nationwide tours by the wives of Smith Act victims and others.
7. Organize local committees in all major cities and encourage the organization of special committees for individual victims of the Smith Act.
8. Organize a Speakers Bureau to service organizations and meetings.
9. Place ads in the major newspapers and periodicals in the country.
10. Publish pamphlets, folders, leaflets, posters, stickers and all other forms of publicity deemed appropriate and effective in bringing theissue of amnesty to the attention of the people of the United States.
11. Work for favorable action by all national Nominating Conventions for President of all political parties.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
17 W. 45th Street
New York 36, N. Y.
May 26, 1952

38 DAYS 'TIL WE MEET!

Mrs. Julia O. Brown
3196 E. 123rd Street
Cleveland 20, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Brown:

I do hope that you have returned home and found only enthusiasm greeting the tasks before our Committee. It is one of the most important committees in the entire national campaign. In Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee and Alabama, I have told your fellow progressive citizens of the bond you have made with us, and there is real anxiety that these bonds be strengthened greatly to the benefit of our national campaign and toward guaranteeing that peace and freedom will be on the ballot in '52.

Remember time is our most precious tool, so let us make the most of it. THERE ARE ONLY 38 DAYS BEFORE THE NATIONAL CONVENTION! Only 38 days to embrace and greet the delegates that you will help to bring from the South to Chicago where we will set the issues and the program for peace in '52.

Let us not wait -- get specific pledges now. Call meetings, have forums, socials, raffles, form "sponsor-a-delegate" groups, and canvass. Let us make this a MUST. You may write me if you wish to sponsor a Southern speaker to one of your fund-raising affairs.

Within the next few days I will send estimates of round-trip traveling expenses by train for a single delegate from a central place in most of the Southern states, and also the approximate cost of sponsoring a car.

Remember that above all our Southern delegates to the Convention would like to know what you are doing in their behalf each week, if possible. They are packing their bags and doing all they can to be there.

I would like to hear from you within the next five days. We send our sincerest hopes for the most successful campaign in your area.

Yours for Peace,

H. C. Moss

Southern Director

the independent

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF OHIO

5103 EUCLID AVE., CLEVELAND 3, OHIO ··· HEnderson 1-3327

Friday, June 13, 1952 No. 24

STATE TOUR OPENS OHIO PP CAMPAIGN

Call for Veto of McCarran-Walter Bill

The Progressive Party calls on all state and ward leaders to wire or write immediately to President Truman, The White House, Washington, D. C., urging him to veto the McCarran-Walter Immigration Bill. This bill is the most vicious piece of discriminatory and anti-foreign born legislation yet to appear.

The Cleveland Jewish Community Federation is urging immediate action for veto. The CIO, ADA, NAACP, B'nai B'rith, AFL, National Council of Catholic Women are among over 100 organizations opposed to this bill. YOUR IMMEDIATE ACTION IS IMPERATIVE.

Ward Club News

The Glenville PP Club has begun a neighborhood campaign to make available housing for additional Negro families, many of whom are now forced to double and triple up and with instances of entire families forced to live in one room.

A housing committee headed by James McMillan is now doing preliminary work on a survey of housing openings in white areas and apartments to find homes for Negro families based on furthering Negro-white unity. Lots of luck to Glenville... we hope other ward clubs will follow suit.

CANTON MEETING FIRST STOP FOR MRS. PAULINE TAYLOR & DON ROTHENBERG

Mrs. Pauline Taylor, State Chairman, and Don Rothenberg, Executive Secretary, began a tour of the state Tuesday with a successful meeting in Canton...10 delegates from Canton are going to the convention, 3 of whom have raised $40.00 for expenses by using the delegate forms (which were sent to all Independent readers last week.) Canton PP members have started a housing campaign and a campaign to repeal the payroll tax, besides circulating Peace Petitions.

Mrs. Taylor, well-known to thousands of Ohioans and progressives throughout the country for her outstanding work for peace and civil rights, is making her first public appearances outside of Cleveland as the unanimously-elected Chairman of the Progressive Party of Ohi

Other cities and meetings being covered this week are in Bellaire, Columbus, Dayton and Cincinnati. COME TO THE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING Wednesday, June for a full report (see announcement next page.)

Oscar Smilack, Columbus businessman and PP member cited for contempt by the Un-American Activities Commission and railroaded into Lima State Hospital for the Insane, was freed yesterday on a writ of habeas corpus. Welcome back to this courageous Ohio

DID YOU KNOW THAT.....

While Cleveland's MINIMUM public housing needs according to Metropolitan Housing Authority are 6,000 units, present Federal apprpriations provide for only 5,000 units for the entire country.....

That according to NAACP Executive Secretary Charles P. Lucas, approximately 32,300 Cleveland Negro families live in 14,950 housing units--two families for every home and apartment.....

That in the Cedar-Central area the average dwelling place is 60 years old....that in this area rent receipts and rent controls are unheard-of items today.....that one landlord has so many people packed into a ramshackle old building that cost him $10,000 that he collects $5,000 a year rent from all the tenants in this one building.

That Negro families in the Glenville area are compelled to pay as high as $125 a month rent for apartments.....

That in the Lee-Seville area may be found a slum that is as bad as any in the whole country.....

That seven years after the end of the war the country's housing shortage is just as acute as it was then....industry has been able to build more automobiles than people can buy--why not houses?

That taking the 65 billion dollars being spent for war by the government and putting it to work for social welfare could, among other things, set up a Federal Housing Program to provide two million decent, low-cost homes a year for American families without discrimination.....

That Progressive Party Clubs in every part of Cleveland and Ohio can help fight for housing by campaigning to put peace on the ballot and by organizing action on their block, neighborhood or community for housing.

If you need housing or know of an available apartment, please call or write the PP office.

"PEACE IS POSSIBLE" by Mrs. Pauline Taylor, has been re-issued and is available at the PP office for 5¢ per copy.

CONVENTION NEWS

Our first goal has been reached--over 50 delegates from Cleveland are planning to attend the Convention in Chicago July 4th, 5th and 6th! To meet this week's goal, 25 more are needed...all delegates' names and $2.00 registration fee should be in the office by June 15, to guarantee good housing arrangements.

A copy of the proposed platform for the convention is enclosed...individuals and groups are asked to send views, statements, experiences and specific proposals to the office, to be forwarded to the Platform Committee. This is your opportunity to help draft the Progressive Party Platform ...send us your suggested resolutions by June 20.

How are you going to the Convention--train, bus or car? Call or write the PP office.

PEACE PETITIONS

The drive to PLACE PEACE ON THE BALLOT is under way, chairman to be announced next week together with the program for the coming months, which will emphasize ward club organization. You can begin now--- each reader of The Independent received a Peace Petition last week...the deadline for returning these filled petitions is June 25.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

The state meeting originally scheduled for June 15 in Mansfield has been postponed in order to devote all of our time, energy and finances to the petition drive to PLACE PEACE ON THE BALLOT and to build the Ohio delegation to the national convention.

Saturday, June 14 - Food Festival and Smorgasbord given by The Freedom of the Press Association, 6:00 p.m. at the Croatian Home, 6314 St. Clair. Admission $1.00.

Wednesday, June 18 - Executive Board Meeting at PP office, 5103 Euclid. Thelma Dale, Assistant Campaign Manager, will continue the discussion on Negro participation in the PP.

Saturday, June 21 - send-off party for delegates to the convention, given by Glenville Ward Club. Place to be announced.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY
PLATFORM

Here is a suggested outline for the platform to be discussed and adopted at the Progressive Party Convention in Chicago, July 4th, 5th and 6th. Our party is vitally interested in the opinions and experiences of its members and friends on all the questions listed below and on any other questions which properly belong in the platform.

We urge all Progressive Party groups to sponsor a public hearing before July 4th in order to make this platform truly representative of the desires and needs of the people of Ohio. Please send your suggested resolutions to the state office by June 20th, if possible.

Don Rothenberg, Executive Secretary
Progressive Party of Ohio

I. PEACE
1. PP program to ensure peace in Korea and Far East
   a. Immediate truce in Korea
   b. Recognition and admission of China to U.N.
   c. Stop re-arming of Japan
2. PP program to ensure peace in Germany and Europe
   a. Program for Germany
   b. Eliminate NATO and strings of Mutual Security Assistance Program
3. Reopen trade with Socialist countries
4. Negotiate 5 power peace pact
5. Outlawing atom bomb, germ warfare--no foreign bases, disarmament program, NO UMT - DRAFT, etc.
6. Return of U.N. to peace agency.

II. SECURITY
PP program for lower prices--lower taxes
   a. For labor program
   b. Repeal of Taft-Hartley
   c. Minimum pay wage
   d. For small business
   e. For housing
   f. Education
   g. Health
   h. Social Security and Old Age Security
   i. Youth
   j. Farmers, sharecroppers, etc.

III. FREEDOM
1. Civil rights legislative program: Federal F.E.P.C., Anti-Poll Tax, Anti-Lynch legislation
2. Federal enforcement of existing civil rights statutes
3. Negro representation at all levels of public office
4. Repeal of Smith and McCarran Acts and loyalty oaths
5. Stop House and Senate Committees' inquisitions
6. Honesty in public office and responsibility to citizens
7. Vote for D.C., and Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska
8. Separation of Church and State

the independent

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF OHIO

5103 EUCLID AVE., CLEVELAND 3, OHIO ··· HEnderson 1-3327

FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1952 NO 25

A REPORT TO PROGRESSIVES: on the state tour of Mrs. Pauline Taylor & Don Rothenberg

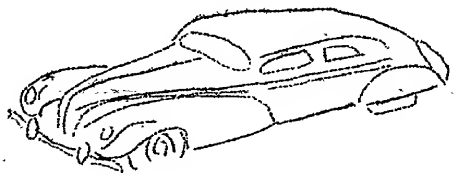
Dear Friends:

In a seven-day 1000 mile tour of the state, Mrs. Pauline Taylor, State Chairman of the PP of Ohio and Don Rothenberg, Executive Secretary, met with Progressive Party members in canton, Steubenville, Bellaire, Dayton, Cincinnati, Youngstown and Akron.

Each city planned a meeting to reorganize their local group and to spur the drive for convention delegates. As a result of these meetings, the goal of 50 delegates from cities outside of Cleveland will be met.

In Canton, a housing campaign was inaugurated. In Steubenville and Bellaire discrimination in the swimming pools and the steel strike will keep our members busy. In Dayton, support for the UE strike at the H.H. & R. Foundry was voted and food will be collected for the strikers. The Dayton PP also set a goal of 1000 petitions signatures to "Place Peace on the Ballot"--the signatures to be collected by June 25, second anniversary of the Korean War.

In Cincinnati, eight delegates were obtained in one day and plans made to double the number. In Youngstown, several steelworkers plan to go to Chicago if the strike situation allows. In Akron a small but enthusiastic meeting promised at least 10 and possibly 15 delegates.



The most striking feature of the trip was the widespread disgust with the two old parties expressed by citizens in all Ohio cities. Although many people had not kno about the Progressive Party's candidates--HALLINAN and BASS--there was immediate response and agreement to work on the campaign. Our big job is to reach thousands of Ohioans to make clear that the Progressive Party presents the only alternative to the war program, the only uncompromising fight for civil rights, and the only consistent defense of the rights of working people and their trade unions.

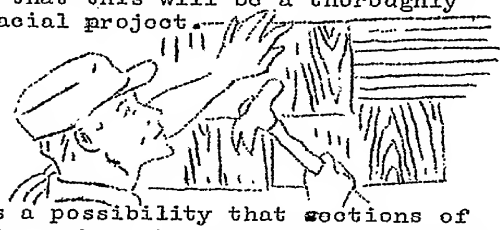
(continued next page)

PP SUPPORTS HOUSING PROJECT

FIRST BREAK IN CLEVELAND'S HOUSING CRISIS IN MAKING

In the face of strong opposition from the Home Builders Association and some anti-Negro residents of the area, the Cleveland Metropolitan Housing Authority has announced plans to go ahead with the construction of a 850 to 900 family low cost public housing project at Lee and McCracken Roads in southeast Cleveland and including a section of the present Lee-Seville Temporary Dwellings.

Under Ohio Law and on the basis of City Council action together with a contract with the Federal Government, the Housing Authority is prepared to go ahead with buying the land involved and going ahead with the project. The Housing Authority pledges that this will be a thoroughly inter-racial project.



There is a possibility that sections of the land may have to be re-zoned in order to go ahead with actual construction after the land has been purchased. At that time it will in all probability be necessary to make a campaign for support of Cleveland councilmen in order to make the actual building of the project possible.

The proposed project marks a first step toward making a break in Cleveland's desperate housing crisis. It will make possible housing for many Cedar-Central families so that slum clearance and urban re-development programs for new housing may go ahead in this area. There is currently sufficient legislation to enable an extension of this program providing the people can force Congress to appropriate more funds for housing. In 1940 in the Central Area there were 97,494 people; in 1950 with fewer houses there were 110,045 people. Only on the basis of developing low cost housing in other areas will it be possible to re-locate these families in order to provide decent homes and make slum clearance possible.

DID YOU KNOW THAT

UNITED MINE WORKERS JOURNAL (official organ of John L. Lewis' union), discussing the candidates of the two old parties, said (Not one candidate has answered the question, 'Why Korea and how to bring the war to an end'...the man on the street is completely bewildered and disgusted with the line-up of candidates."

* * * * * * * *

Progressive Party supporters in Massachusetts have already gathered 40,000 petition signatures in their campaign to reach a goal of 100,000 by July 22 for the Peace Ticket.

* * * * * * * *

The Korean war, two years old this week, has cost the American people over ten billion dollars and 110,000 casualties. Ten billion dollars would build all the homes, schools and hospitals needed by our country.

* * * * * * * *

More Southern delegates are expected at the convention this year than at the 1948 convention...if financial help comes from progressives all over the country.

* * * * * * * *

60 corporations in the U.S.A. made over one billion dollars profit each during the last year.

* * * * * * * *

The management of Sears Roebuck in Cleveland was jolted by the vigorous campaign led by the Cleveland Negro Labor Council to demand hiring of Negro women as sales and office workers.

* * * * * * * *

The Ohio Conference of the Methodist Church called for a positive program for waging peace, in its recent general session.

* * * * * * * *

Democrats and Republicans have joined in another unholy alliance against former Congressman Vito Marcantonio in his fight for election to Congress next November. Rep. Donovan, running for re-election against Marcantonio has voted wrong on [illegible], foreign policy, the Tidelands oil issue, and was conveniently absent when the House of Representatives cut public housing units to 5000 for the entire country.

* * * * * * * *

California un-American Senator Jack B. Tenney was whipped in his bid for a seat in Congress in his own party's primary. Several years ago, members of the Washington State Un-American Committee were all defeated after the smear campaign against progressives. Ohio Progressives have a job themselves in defeating Renner, Bartunek, Corrigan and Company.

* * * * * * * *

Here's the value of the 1939 dollar today: 41 cents worth of food; 50 cents worth of clothing; 43 cents worth of a new house. The $6,000 home of 1940 costs $14,000 today.

See you at the CONVENTION JULY 4

URGENT NEED FOR FUNDS FOR SOUTHERN DELEGATES

The following letter was received by Mrs. Julia Brown, representing Ohio on a national committee to raise funds for southern delegates:

"Many southern delegates are packing their bags and their hearts to meet in Chicago for peace, security and freedom that includes the South and have, already, part of their fares. What have you done to finish out their fare? We must know right now! Our delegates have much to bring and give to you in the way of putting peace on the ballot in 1952. They know that our Chicago convention means everything to our 1952 campaign and they are raring to make it a real 4th of July Independence, peace and freedom convention.

Don't let us down--hold our hands--send us some assistance--speak to us now.

Yours for peace,
H. C. Moss
Southern Director

$ $ $ $ $ $ $ $ $ $

DOLLAR BOOKS

Many members have had dollar books for several weeks. Money is urgently needed by the National and State offices for Convention expenses. WILL YOU EITHER SELL YOUR BOOK IMMEDIATELY OR BUY IT YOURSELF AND RE-SELL THE COUPONS TO FRIENDS LATER? Send 10 dollars for each book to the State Office. 50% goes to the National Office. The remaining funds will be available to help needy delegates for convention expenses.

parties...

The PP plans a send-off party for delegates to the convention in the Kinsman area next Saturday night, June 28 at the home of Mrs. Anna Green, 3848 E. 144th St

18

The Young Progressives are sponsoring a "Beat the Heat" Party at the Eckles residence, 935 Parkwood, Apartment 9, next Saturday night, June 28th.

THE PP OFFICE WILL BE OPEN THURSDAY AND FRIDAY EVENINGS, JUNE 26 and 27 FOR DELEGATES TO BRING IN TRAIN FARE or to work out any personal problems before the convention.

dpowa 87

REPORT TO PROGRESSIVES (Cont. from Pg.1)

Mrs. Taylor did a magnificent job of convincing progressives that we cannot allow ourselves to be intimidated by the hysteria incited by the Un-Americans. Mrs. Taylor recited the attempts to intimidate her--the Un-American Committee, the police, her experiences on the picket lines to organize the steelworkers union in 1937. Her courage inspired everyone to renewed effort in support of our Peace candidates.

We visited community leaders in several cities--people who have never before been connected with the Progressive Party. In three cities, such community leaders are coming as delegates or observers to our convention.

With thousands of steel and electrical workers on strike, with the Negro people still denied the basic rights of citizenship and prices and taxes soaring, the voters of Ohio are ready and willing to listen to a positive program for peace, security and abundance. It is our hope that this brief tour helped to rebuild the Ohio PP, so that after the National Convention, we can go into a fighting empaign to do Ohio's share in the national vote for peace in 1952.

Fraternally,
Don Rothenberg

PP SUPPORTS HOUSING PROJECT (Cont. Pg.1)

The main public opposition to the project has come from Councilman Earnest Atkinson of Ward 30 who said he didn't want whole sections of the population moved from one section of the city to another obviously implying that he wants no more Negro families in his ward. Also in opposition is the Home Builders Association. In Maple Heights, in a meeting filled with an atmosphere of the most vicious kind of anti-Negro expression, the Maple Heights City Council voted 4 to 3 to begin action to stop the project. The main character of the opposition has been based on the kind of arguments that the Ku Kluxers would be expected to advance.

The proposed project deserves the full active support of every progressive and and entire Cleveland community. The Mayor of Maple Heights and his City Council should be informed that their stand is the worst kind of subversion. They have exposed themselves as being anti-Negro and anti-decent living standards, anti-decent housing and as a consequence, genuinely anti-American.

Call your own city councilman and tell him that you support this project and want him to take whatever action is necessary to make it go full speed ahead.

Write or telephone Councilman Atkinson, EXpress 19525 and Mayor Walter K. Mason of Maple Heights, MOntrose 24169, protesting their un-American stand.

Ohio's convention delegation is slowly mounting toward the goal of 150 from the entire state. New delegates from Canton, Akron, Youngstown, Steubenville, Bellaire, Dayton and Cincinnati brings the total over the halfway mark with two weeks to go.

Factory workers are using the "ten-for-one" delegates form with much success. Delegates have raised up to 20 dollars from these forms.

Workers on strike in the steel and electrical industries are planning to make the trip to Chicago with the financial aid of their local Progressive Party clubs.

Several community leaders throughout the state, who have had no previous connection with the Progressive Party, will attend the convention as observers.

ALL DELEGATES ARE URGED TO ARRIVE IN CHICAGO BY 2 p.m. Friday in order to take part in the panel discussions on the following subjects:

Open meeting of the Committee to Elect Negroes to Public Office
Academic and Cultural Freedom;
Nationalities; Labor, Veterans, Women, Farmers, Church, Youth and Businessmen.

A special feature of the Saturday afternoon session will be the presentation of Earl Robinson's magnificent "Children's Cantata", a 15-minute dramatization of the hopes and desires of children, expressed in the words of children.

Saturday evening, the acceptance speeches of our candidates: Mrs. Vivian Hallinan and her two oldest sons, who will accept on behalf of Vincent Hallinan; and Mrs. Charlotta Bass.

Sunday noon, a challenge to the two old parties will come in the presentation of the Civil Rights Plank by Earl B. Dickerson of Chicago, President of the National Lawyers Guild.

Public meeting: "END THE KOREAN WAR NOW" on June 25th at the Morning Star Baptist Church, 652 Parkwood Drive near St. Clair. Speakers: Mr. Douglas Glasgow, National Chairman, American Youth Peace Crusade, recently returned from travels in Italy, the Soviet Union andother European countries; and MRS. RUTH FREEZE, Chairman of the Dayton Women for Peace.

JOBS CONFERENCE: Saturday and Sunday, June 28 and 29 at the American Woodmen Hall, 7610 Cedar Avenue, beginning at 10 a.m. Organizations and individuals invited to be represented, to plan a drive for 5,000 new jobs for Negro men and women, with emphasis on breaking discrimination against Negro women at Sears Roebuck. Sponsored by Cleveland Negro Labor Council.

6-20-52

GLENVILLE HOUSING SURVEY

FACT SHEET

DID YOU KNOW That out of 15,000 new dwellings built in Cleveland in the past few years, only 200 have been available to Negro families?

DID YOU KNOW That in the Glenville Area 8,000 Negro families live in 5,000 homes and apartments.

DID YOU KNOW That in Glenville, Negro families are being compelled to pay up to $125.00 a month rent because of the acute shortage and the refusal of many landlords to rent to Negro families.

DID YOU KNOW That the city has the authority under the Ohio Housing Authority Law to build, with public assistance, low-cost housing projects.

DID YOU KNOW That the Federal government has allocated to the City Planning Commission 3 million dollars to be used towards writing off the difference between the price paid for blighted areas and their clearance, and lesser amounts for which these sites may be resold to private enterprise for redevelopment in conformity with the city's General Plan.

High Rents for Negroes Means High Rents for Everyone.

Overcrowding of Negro families means Overcrowding for Everyone.

Inflated Real Estate Prices for Negro Families Means Inflated Real Estate Prices for Everyone.

GLENVILLE CLUB, PROGRESSIVE PARTY
James McMillan, Chairman
Blanche Livingstone, Secretary

dpowa 87

Glenville Housing Survey

1. Do you have adequate housing now?

2. If not, what are your housing needs?

3. If you own your property, would you be willing to sell to Negroes and whites?

4. If you own your property, would you be willing to rent to Negroes and whites?

5. Do you have any objections to living on the same street with Negroes and whites?

6. Do you have any objections to living in the same apartment or double house with Negroes and whites?

7. Do you feel your rent is excessive?

8. Do you belong to any community improvement organization like the Glenville Community Council? If so, which one?

9. Are you in favor of petitioning the mayor and City Council to immediately institute a low-cost non-segregated housing project in addition to and in connection with the present urban redevelopment project?

10. Taking into account that we're spending 65 billion dollars per year for war and defense purposes, will you be in favor of the Federal Government spending 1 billion dollars per year for the next 10 years to build 20 million new low-cost non-segregated housing units?

This housing survey is being conducted as a public service by the GLENVILLE PROGRESSIVE PARTY in a program to relieve the present over-crowded and sub-standard housing conditions in Glenville.

dpowa 87

Dear Julia:
Enclosed is receipt for your membership fees so all you need is to fill out the form.
Louise P.

JGB

THE SOJOURNERS FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE
409 Edgecomb Ave.
New York City, New York

June 12, 1952

Dear Sojourners:

Greetings to you in the chapters from the National Organizing Committee, which, with this communication launches a campaign for the consolidation, growth and activity of our present chapters, as well as drive for new ones.

We sincerely ask your cooperation in this campaign by complying with the following:

1) Study the enclosed Draft Constitution in the chapter and send us your suggestions. After hearing from each chapter, the National Committee will complete this draft and issue it as a Provisional Constitution to govern our actions until a National Convention.

2) Fill out the enclosed C hapter Registration form and return to us as soon as possible with 50% of total membership fees collected by the Chapter. We will then issue membership cards for each member and the chapter charter.

3) The first issue of a monthly Organizational Bulletin is in preparation. We want news of each chapter in this first issue. We will welcome your suggestions for a NAME of the Bulletin. We must ask for a quick response so that the first issue can be completed before the end of June. Also elect a Bulletin Reporter in the chapter responsible for sending in your news monthly.

4) The Action Program to guide the work of our chapters for the months till the fall elections is also being finalized. It will include mobilization for the Chicago conventions in July. We will present our demands for freedom of Rosa Lee Ingram and other issues affecting Negro women and their families to the platform committees. We will also complete plans to unite Negro women for support of our own National President, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, on a nonpartisan basis in recognition of the historic role she is playing as the candidate for Vice-President on the Progressive Party ticket.

To be ready for quick and effective action, we urge all chapters to begin NOW an intensive drive for new members, so that we may have the participation in these actions of hundreds more Negro women ready and eager to participate in an uncompromising and fearless program for justice, peace and full citizenship.

The National Committee feels very confident that we can count on your chapter to help make possible we Sojourners active participation in the liberation struggle of our people and the fight for peace and freedom in the nation and in the world.

Yours in sisterhood,

Louise Patterson

Louise Patterson, Nat'l Exec. Sec'y

ps: Please address all mail to Mrs. Louise Patterson, 409 Edgecomb Ave. New York City, N.Y.

tu: 555

CHAPTER REGISTRATION

Date_____

Name of Chapter_____ Date Established_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

Time and Place of Meeting_____

Officers: (List below)

Name	Address	Office

No. of Members _____ (List each member below, using additional blank sheets if necessary):

Name	Address	50% Membership fee

Total of Fees remitted $_____

We, the below signed officers of _____Chapter of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice hereby state that the above report was prepared under our direction and is an accurate statement of the information requested by the National Organizing Committee.

_____ President

_____ Secretary

tu:555

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-04-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

MEMO, SAC

Cleveland, Ohio
October 3, 1952

CC:

65-721 - KRCHMAREK, ANTHONY
100-20438 - MARINO, LUCE
100-7371 - SHEPARD, PAUL
100-231 - KATZ, FRIEDA
100-15908 - WELLS, JAMES
100-15197 - WHERRY, MARGARET
100-17087 - C R C

The following is the verbatim report of [redacted] dated September 20, 1952, received by SA [redacted] on October 1, 1952. The original memo will be found as serial [redacted] of [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

"Cleveland, Ohio
September 20th 1952

"On Saturday September 13th 1952 at 10:30 P.M. a delegation of seven people met WILLIAM PATTERSON at the air-port coming from New York. In the delegation were FREDA KATZ, JAMES WELLS, PAUL SHEPPARD, LUCE MARINO, JULIA & CURLEE BROWN, and MARGARET WHERRY. Every one led by PAUL went to breakfast at the Howard & Johnson restaurant on West Lake Avenue, after leaving the restaurant PAUL and LUCE went home and the rest went to the Stadium to buy tickets for the base ball game between Boston & Clevelands.

"After buying the ticketts the delegation went to the Burkley building on Euclid Avenue to see the manager of radio station W.E.R.E. which PATTERSON was to speak over after the ball game, this transaction was made by FREDA before PATTERSON arrived here, seventy dollars was paid in advance, and the speech was written by FREDA for PATTERSON. The man (name forgotten) at the radio station told the delegation that PATTERSON could not speak on the radio because the script had been read and found unwise for PATTERSON to speak. This man said The Chamber of Commerce and the Police Department had been attacked in such an order that the station could not permit PATTERSON to speak. PATTERSON ask to see the manager, that was refused, then he asked if he altered the speech could he speak, that was also refused, every one left for the ball game.

"After the game, FREDA, MARGARET, PATTERSON, JULIA & CURLEE started for FREDA's home, in the car FREDA told MARGARET that KIRKMERIK was back in Cleveland, MARGARET asked FREDA how he got back here in the States, FREDA said she did not know, but he was badk and a party would be given for him sometime in October."

OCT 3 1952

b7D

PMB'mmb

[redacted]

CC: New York

[redacted]

MEMO, SAC

Care should be used in disseminating the above information to paraphrase it so as not to reveal the identity of the informant.

b6
b7C

SA

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C. G. Ernst

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 02-04-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio
October 6, 1952

MEMO, SAC

100-18776	DENNIS, MYRTLE	100-237	KATZ, FRIEDA
100-19277	GARDNER, FRED	100-15908	WELLS, JAMES
100-9265	HABER, WILLIAM	100-17259	EDUCATION
[redacted]		100-17087	CRC
100-11932	DAY, JACK	100-17261	NEGRO
		100-19935	NAT'L NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

b7D

The following is the verbatim report of [redacted] dated 9-23-52 received by SA [redacted] on 10-1-52. The original memo will be found as serial 5 of [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

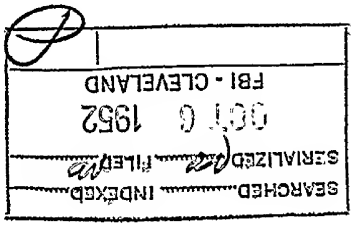
" Cleveland, Ohio
September 23rd, 1952

" On Monday September 15, 1952 at 8:30 A.M. Freda Katz and Julia Brown had breakfast with WILLIAM PATTERSON of New York, National head of the Civil Rights Congress at Bill Haber's home 13811 Byron Avenue. The private conference was called to talk over the failure of the C.R.C. in Cleveland, and what could be done to improve it.

Freda told Patterson that every thing was put on her shoulders, and she did not have enough people to help, Pat said if she didn't act as if she knew every thing she could get plenty of help. It seemed as if Freda had talked to Pat about Julia, but it also seemed that Pat had waited to give Freda most of the answers in Julia's present. Pat wanted to know why Julia was not back in the communist party, and Freda said it was because Julia wanted to get in when every body was trying to get out, at the time when it was the hottest time, then Pat told Freda if she did not trust Julia, to put Julia out in front, and have her to go to Church clubs and other out-side clubs to speak in favor of the C.R.C., and other places where Freda could not go. Pat also advised Freda not to treat Julia the way she would treat James Wells, for there were two different classes.

b7D

EMB:AES
[redacted]
cc: New York



b7D

[redacted]

MEMO SAC

Pat told Freda he did not want James as Chairman of the C.R.C., because he did not have the personality that an executive should have, but James was a good man to have around, for he had experience, and knew the struggles of the negro, and that he wanted Freda to teach James, Marx and Lenin, because James will come in handy some day. This was said at the breakfast table, after breakfast was over, Freda called Fred Gardiner over to talk. Patterson wanted to know about the Negro Labor Council from Fred , how and what they were doing to retain their membership, Pat said he heard on the night that Paul Roberson sang here that the crowd was bored by the Dennis woman reading the poem by Beulah Richardson, and that the Council made a mistake by not having Julia read the poem. Fredaand Fred said the Negro Labor Council drove Myrtle away from them because they gave her too much to do. This Myrtle Dennis is the wife of the man who was shot by a policeman. Pat told Freda to rally around police brutality to show the public what the CRC could and would do, and she will have new members and be able to get the old ones back. After a few minutes Freda called Atty. Jack Day and made an appointment for 1:30, she asked Julia if she knew where the Standard Building was and Julia told her no, Freda then said she would show Julia, so Julia, Freda, and Patterson went to Jack Days office. Patterson thanked him for his kindness, they talked over the Davis brothers case, this case is where the men were suppose to have been beaten up by the police, talked about the Wooden case, altho' Day hadn't heard much about that case. Day said the C.R.C. had a cut and dried case against the city on the Davis case, but that he would look into the Wooden case and advise Freda about it. From what was gathered Jack Day is the official adviser.

After the three left Jack Days office, they went to the Cleveland Plane Dealer newspaper office having a 3: O'clock appointment with a Mr. name forgotten he is the Managing Editor, a man about sixty 5Ft 2In. 145 lbs cripple and walks with a cane. Patterson thanked him for giving the Davis case publicity and asked him to do like wise with the Wooden case, and the Un-American Activities Committee. This man asked Patterson his full name and address, the city he was from and the organization he heads, he received the information which he wrote down. The manager had to take a plane at 3:30 so he had only fifteen minutes to talk to Patterson, as Pat was late for the appointment. Leaving the Plane Dealer, the three decided to stop at Myrtle Dennis home at 8711 Quincy Avenue, which they did and had dinner about 4:O'clock. Myrtle and Pat talked, and Myrtle told Pat that James Wells was not a fit person to be Chairman of the C.R.C. because he beat his wife all the time, Pat wanted to know whose choice was James for chairman, Myrtle told Pat it was Freda's, Freda tried to deny it and almost cried.

MEMO SAC

Pat asked Freda to call the Air-Port to see about the 6:30 plane she did and Pat was waiting at the gate, Freda showed Julia a man Freda said was an F.B.I. following Pat back to New York, she said she knew the dogs any place she saw them. After the plane left Freda said she was going home to have a big cry."

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b6
b7C

[redacted]
SA

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DATE 02-04-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

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September 23rd, 1952.

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C. Y. End.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Johnson S. Youngster,

P. O. Box 2268,

Brooklyn Station,

Cleveland 9, Ohio.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio
October 7, 1952

MEMO SAC

100-14038 COOPER, WILLIAM
100-20087 JENNINGS, LUCELIUS
100-14573 WASHINGTON, BERT
100-17261 NEGRO
100-19935 NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

[redacted] The following is the verbatim report of dated September 14, 1952, received by SA [redacted] on September 19, 1952. The original memo will be found as serial 6 of [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

"Cleveland, Ohio.

September, 14, 1952.

"On September 3rd 1952 a Finance Committee was held at Julia Brown's home, present were Bert Washington, C. E. Jennings, Lee Morgan and Julia Brown. It was to discuss finance from various places and persons and the picketting of various places to obtain employment for negroes. Two places mentioned were Sears & Robuck, and the Airport. The picket line at Sears were to ask for sales work and office work at the AirPort, Stewardess jobs would be asked for negro women, and the wearing of uniforms in the picket line in order to show the public how the negro women can or will look in uniforms.

"Lee Morgan and Bert decided on whom and how to approach the public for funds, Lee decided on going to a few Racketeers and get contribution Lee also said there were some who

[redacted] b7D

PMB:mkf

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
OCT 7 1952
FBI - CLEVELAND

b7D

[redacted]

"prefered to remain anonymous. Each were given people to ask for contributions. Jennings was to ask all he knew in Glenville area, Julia was to ask the William Coopers and other progressives and non-progressives in Kinsman area, Lee and Bert were to go to-gether to seek out the money people.

"The three men voted on Julia becoming the Treasurer of the Negro Labor Council. All of the above statement being the work of the Negro Labor Council."

Care should be used in disseminating the above information to paraphrase it so as not to reveal the identity of the informant.

[redacted]
SA

b6
b7C

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C. L. Lend

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

MEMO, SAC

Cleveland, Ohio
October 7, 1952

CC:

100-14928 - WHERRY, ROBERT
100-4829 - HALL, ELIZABETH
100-20534 - BLUMENFELD, ANITA
100-9474 - TOMSIK, GEO.
100-18427 - CONNERS, MAE
100-18667 - McCURDY, FOSTER
100-2762 - ZAZRIVY, PAUL
100-20116 - BILES, SUE
100-15911 - CLARK, SALLIE
100-14899 - GOODMAN, ETHEL (JENNINGS)
100-1166 - GREENFIELD, E. C.
100-19721 - GRUBBS, VIVIAN
100-2262 - HABER, JOSEPH
100-9265 - HABER, WILLIAM
100-18333 - Nationality
100-20420 - TURNER, IKE
100-9759 - MAGEDOVITZ, ANN
100-11826 - KREITNER, MORRIS
100-15056 - MOLNAR, ELIZ.
100-56 - KILPATRICK ADMIRAL
100-20633 - KATZ, LENORE
100-20087 - JENNINGS, LUCELIUS
100-231 - KATZ, FRIEDA
100-237 - KATZ, DAVE
100-17033 - KREITNER, FRIEDA SMITH
100-15575 - [redacted]
100-17554 - McCASTLE, WILLIAM
100-18598 - McCURDY, MAYME
100-20092 - MIKOS, MARY
100-20093 - NIKOS, ARCHIE
100-4602 - SMID, JIM
100-15908 - WELLS, JAMES
100-15197 - WHERRY, MARGARET
100-4607 - ZAZRIVY, ELSIE
100-751 - ACPFB
100-17087 - C R C
100-17261 - Negro
100-18259 - Nat'l Negro Labor Council
100-17262 - CALLOW, LEON
100-11460 - OVCHAR, CAROLINE

b6
b7C

The following is the verbatim report of [redacted] dated September 22, 1952, received by SA [redacted] on October 1, 1952. The original memo will be found as serial 7 of [redacted]

b6
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"Cleveland, Ohio.
September 22, 1952

"On Sunday September 14, 1952, a picnic was given at 2137 Ridgewood Road by the Nationality Press Committee, that name was given to hide the idenity of the Civil Rights Congress, the Negro Labor Council, The Protection for the Foreign Born, and the Communist Party. WILLIAM PATTERSON from New York being guest speaker. There were about sixty five people present, those recognized were, FREDA & DAVE KATZ & daughter, A. KILPATRICK, JAMES WELLS, IKE TURNER, ETHEL GOODMAN & husband, LEON CALLO, ELIZABETH MOLNOR, MARY NICKOR & husband, BILL HABER, JOE HABER, ELSIE ZAZRIVY & husband, FREDA & MORRIS KRIETNER, JULIA & CURLEE BROWN, MARGARET WHERRY & husband, [redacted]

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PMB:mmb [redacted]

CC: New York

OCT 7 1952
FBI - CLEVELAND

b7D

[redacted]

MEMO, SAC

ELIZABETH HALL [redacted] CAROLINE OVCHAR, ANITZ BLOOMINFELD, b6 b7C
SALLIE CLARK, MIKE GRUBBS, JAMES SMID, a white man name TOMSIK,
E. C. GREENFIELD, MAE CONNERS, McCURDE, ex-husband of MAMIE
McCURDY, SUE BILES, ANN MCGETOVITZ.

"FREDA introduced LEON CALLO as a member of the Protection of the foreign born. LEON said he had been in this country many years and had reared nine children, but he would never deny that he was a communist, and if he is deported to Greece he will tell his friends that the communist in America was fighting for peace. E. C. GREENFIELD spoke and was introduced by FREDA as a member of the communist party who is running for the Governor of Ohio on the communist ticket. GREENFIELD advised the people to write in their vote for him. These people know they cannot win an election, but running Progressive and Communist Party candidates keeps the members interested in something to do rather than have them vote for Republicans or Democrats.

"PATTERSON was introducted by FREDA as the National head of the C.R.C. PATTERSON spoke of the eleven communist in prison, leaders of the party in prison, leaders of the party, who he says are serving time for speaking out for peace. He spoke of how he went to the United Nations and presented the book called Genocide he said some one got his pass port for him, but he did not mention the name of the person, he spoke of PAUL ROBESON's failure to get his passport, he spoke of his trial and mention the Senator who called him a black S. O. B. He said the communist party was the only party that will bring deliberation to the people. He praised CHARLOTTA BASS and said she had worked with and for the party for thirty years, and had been in all kinds of picket lines.

"Before PATTERSON could finish talking some of the foreign born members and strangers started making noise by talking out loud, JULIA tried to stop the noise, but every now and then the noise would break out again, PAT became very angry and told the crowd he being a negro was why they did not respect him. Later ETHEL GOODMAN and ANN MAGETOVITZ told JULIA that the strangers were from another picnic, and was trying to cause trouble Later ELSIE called JULIA on the phone and told her four hundred dollars were made at the picnic."

MEMO, SAC

Care should be used in disseminating the above information to paraphrase it so as not to reveal the identity of the informant.

[redacted]
SA

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio.

September, 22, 1952.

On Sunday September 14, 1952 a picnic was given at 2137 Ridgewood Road by the Nationality Press Committee, that name was given to hide the idenity of the Civil Rights Congress, the Negro Labor Council, The Protection for the Foreign Born, and the Communist Party. William Patterson from New York being guest speaker. There were about sixty five people present, those recognized were, Freda & Dave Katz & daughter, A. Kilpatrick, James Wells, Ike Turner, Ethel Goodman & husband, Leon Callo, Elizabeth Molnor, Mary Nickor & husband, Bill Haber, Joe Haber, Elsie Zazrivy & husband, Freda & Morris Krietner, Julia & Curlee Brown, Margaret Wherry & husband, [redacted] Elizabeth Hall, & small son, Caroline Ovchar, Anita Bloominfeld, Sallie Clark, Mike Grubbs, James Smid, a white man name Tomsik, E. C. Greenfield, Mae Conners, McCurde ex-husband of Mamie McCurdy, Sue Biles, Ann Mcgetovitz, b6 b7C

Fredaintroduced Leon Callo as a member of the Protection for the foreign born, Leon said he had been in this country many years and had reared nine children, but he would never deny that he was a communist, and if he is deported to Greece he willtell hisfriends that the communist in America was fighting for peace. E. C. Greenfield spoke and was introduced by Freda as a member of the communist party who is running for the Governor of Ohio on the communist ticket. Greenfield advised the people to write in their vote for him. These people know they cannot win an election, but running Progressive and Communist Party candidates keeps the members interested in something to do rather than have them vote for Republicans or Democrats.

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who he says are serving time for speaking out for peace. He spoke of how he went to the United Nations and presented the book called Genocide hessaid some one got his pass port for him, but he did not mention the nameof the person, he spoke of Paul Robeson's failure to get his passport, he spoke of his trial and mention the Senator who called him a black S.O.B.He said the communist partywas the only party that will bring deliberation to the people. He praised Charlotta Bass and said she had worked with and for the party for thirty years, and had been in all kinds of picket lines.

Before Patterson could finish talking some of the foreign born members and strangers started making noise by talking out loud, Julia tried to stop the noise, but every now and then the noise would break out again, Pat became very angry and told the crowd he being a negro was why they did not respect him. Later Ethel Goodman and Ann Magetovitz told Julia that the strangers were from another picnic , and was trying to cause trouble. Later Elsie called Julia on the phone and told her four hundred dollars were made at the picnic.

A. G. Ent.

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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio
October 8, 1952

MEMO SAC

100-15911	CLARK, SALLIE	100-19971	McMILLAN, JAMES
100-18776	DENNIS, MYRTLE	100-19797	ROBERTS, SARAH
100-20534	BLUMENFELD, ANITA	100-8850	TURNER, MARY
100-20565	GREEN, ANNA	100-15197	WHERRY, MARGARET
100-20073	SOJOURNERS FOR TRUTH & JUSTICE	100-17261	NEGRO

The following is the verbatim report of [redacted] dated September 14, 1952 received by SA [redacted] on serial 8 of [redacted]

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"Cleveland, Ohio.
September 14, 1952.

"On September 7th 1952 a lawn party was given by the Sojourners for Truth & Justice at the home of Laura Fells, 948 East Boulevard, to explain the purpose of the Sojourners and to recruit new members. About twenty persons were present, those recognized were, Sallie Clark, Margaret Wherry, Sarah Roberts, Myrtle Dennis, Julia Brown, Mary Turner, Anna Green, James McMillan, Anita Bulmenfald, a Mr. & Mrs Eddie Webb, Winefred Shellah, Sarah was chairman, she introduced each Sojourner, Myrtle was asked to give the people a reason why the Sojourners had that name, she explain that the name comes from Sojourner Truth, a negro woman who fought, and sheltered the slaves who had escaped, and that every negro woman should be a member of the Sojourners for Truth & Justice.

"Sarah spoke and told the guest that the Sojourners were for all negro women who wanted to fight for the freedom of all negro women. There were two or three new members, which Margaret has their names but will be turned over to the Treasure

[redacted]
PMB:mkf

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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
OCT 8 1952
FBI - CLEVELAND

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[redacted]

"later, Treasurer being Julia Brown. A collection was taken up of thirteen dollars, with expense taken out of five dollars and fifty cents. a private meeting was called by the Chairman Sarah Roberts, four the four leading SoJourners. Sarah Roberts, Myrtle Dennis Margaret Wherry, and Julia Brown, to meet at Myrtles home 8711 Quincy Avenue on Wednesday Sept. 10th 1952."

Care should be used in disseminating the above information to paraphrase it so as not to reveal the identity of the informant.

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[redacted]
SA

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio.

September 14, 1952.

On September 7th 1952 a lawn party was given by the Sojourners for Truth & Justice at the home of Laura Fells, 948 East Boulevard, to explain the purpose of the Sojourners and to recruit new members. About twenty persons were present, those recognized were, Sallie Clark, Margaret Wherry, Sarah Roberts, Myrtle Dennis, Julia Brown, Mary Turner, Anna Green, James McMillan, Anita Bulmenfald, a Mr. & Mrs Eddie Webb, Winefred Shellah, Sarah was chairman, she introduced each Sojourner, Myrtle was asked to give the people a reason why the Sojourners had that name, she explain that the name comes from Sojourner Truth, a negro woman who fought , and sheltered the slaves who had escaped , and that every negro woman should be a member of the Sojourners for Truth & Justice.

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C. Y. End

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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMM

CLEVELAND, OHIO
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1952

Johnson S. Youngster,

P.O.Box 2268,

Brooklyn station,

Cleveland 9, Ohio.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW b7D

Cleveland, Ohio
October 7, 1952

MEMO SAC

100-16282	HAHN, LOUIS	100-19971	McMILLAN, JAMES
100-18776	DENNIS, MYRTLE	100-19797	ROBERTS, SARAH
[redacted]		100-15908	WELLS, JAMES
100-18448	WHITBECK, PAULINE	100-15197	WHERRY, MARGARET
100-231	KATZ, FRIEDA	100-17087	CRC
100-237	KATZ, DAVE	100-20073	SOJOURNERS FOR TRUTH
100-17261	NEGRO	100-19935	NAT'L NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

The following is the verbatim report of [redacted] dated September 19, 1952 received by SA [redacted] on September 24, 1952. The original memo will be found as serial 9 of [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

"Cleveland, Ohio.
September 19th, 1952.

"On September 10th 1952 at 10: A.M. a business meeting was held at Myrtle Dennis home 8711 Quincy Street, for the four leading Sojourners of Truth & Justice of Cleveland, being Myrtle Dennis Sarah Roberts, Margaret Wherry, and Julia Brown. Sarah proposed that she & Julia go among the negro women in the Central area and ask negro women to join the Sojourners, also a cultured program and the invitation to prominent people to speak at each of the meetings, which will take place twice a month.

"There were all kinds discussion, such as James Wells chairmen of the Civil Rights Congress going to Freda Katz and telling her negro women were no good and that they were jelous of the white women who met with the Negro Labor Council, Myrtle said James was Freda's stooge, and that Freda uses James for the dirty work, and that James tells Freda every thing he hears or sees. Myrtle told Julia that Freda and Margaret had talked about her (Julia) and that Julia should not have anything to do with Freda have so much to do with her if she did not

[redacted]
PMB:mkf

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SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
OCT 7 1952
FBI - CLEVELAND

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[redacted]

"trust her, and Myrtle said it was to use her, and make her do the things Freda was too lazy to do.

"Myrtle said that was why Pauline Witbeck was not as active as she use to be because Freda was Jealous of Pauline and Dave, Freda's husband. Sarah Roberts talked about the depression in 1928-29-&30. Sarah asked Myrtle if she knew how Louie Hahn was, he is sick with heart trouble, Sarah said she and McMillian wanted to go see him because he was her boss when she worked in a factory during the depression this factory handled bolts of cloth of all kinds, and Sarah said Louie was the one who issued passes to all the employees when they had a package to take out. Sarah said Louie would go around to all the progressives and ask whether any one needed a pass, Sarah said she took a pass every day, and when she quit her job she had ninety-six sheets, and bolts of cloth to make dresses, she also sold some to friends, and still has some.

"Margaret said she was going to invite Lee Morgan's wife to the next meeting to join the Sojourners, and to be careful what was said to the new members as the SoJourners were not branded as Reds, and that the SoJourners should not in any way connect themselves with any other movement for fear the Sojourners would be branded before they could get the Chart."

Care should be used in disseminating the above information to paraphrase it so as not to reveal the identity of the informant.

[redacted]
SA

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b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio.

September 19th, 1952.

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There were all kinds discussion, such as James Wells chairmen of the Civil Rights Congress going to Freda Katz and telling her negro women were no good and that they were jelous of the white women who met with the Negro Labor Council, Myrtle said James was Freda's stooge, and that Freda uses James for the dirty work, and that James tells Freda every thing he hears or sees. Myrtle told Julia that Freda and Margaret had talked about her(Julia) and that Julia should not have any-thing to do with Freda for Freda did not trust Julia, Julia asked Myrtle why did Freda have so much to do with her if she did not trust her, and ##### Myrtle said it was to use her, and make her do the # things Freda was too lazy to do.

Myrtle said that was why Pauline Witbeck was not as active as she use to be because Freda was jealous of Pauline and Dave, Freda's husband. Sarah Roberts talked about the depression in 1928-29-&30. Sarah asked Myrtle if she knew how Louie Hahn was, he is sick with heart trouble, Sarah said she and McMillian wanted to go see him be-

cause he was her boss when she worked in a factory during the depression this factory handled bolts of cloth of all kinds, and Sarah said Louie was the one who issued passes to all the employees when they had a package to take out.Sarah said Louie would go around to all the progressives and ask whether any one needed a pass, Sarah said she took a pass every day, and when she quit her job she had ninety-six sheets, and bolts of cloth to make dresses, she also sold some to friends, and still has some.

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C. G. Ecul

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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Rec'd 9-24-52

Johnson S. Youngster,

P.O.Box 2268,

Brooklyn Station,

Cleveland 9, Ohio.

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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio

OCT 15 1952

MEMO, SAC

100-20116	BILES, SUE	100-7686	UE
100-18776	DENNIS, MYRTLE	100-20087	JENNINGS, LUCELIUS
100-14899	GOODMAN, ETHEL (JENNINGS)	100-231	KATZ, FRIEDA
100-13371	HAUG, MARIE	100-8850	TURNER, MARY
100-20420	TURNER, IKE	100-15197	WHERRY, MARGARET
100-20421	YOUNG, EDDIE	100-17261	NEGRO
100-9759	MAGEDOVITZ, ANN	100-19935	NAT'L NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
100-20393	BRENT, AL	100-19726	AMERICAN COMMITTEE TO SURVEY LABOR CONDITIONS IN EUROPE

The following is the verbatim report of [redacted] dated 10-1-52, received by SA [redacted] on 10-7-52. The original memo will be found as serial 10 of [redacted]

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" Cleveland, Ohio
October 1, 1952.

"On Wednesday at 8: P.M. September 17, 1952 the United Electric Union delegates attended a base ball game between the Cleveland Indians and Washingron Senators. At Myrtle Dennis home at 7: P.M. for dinner, at 8711 Quincy Avenue were Julia Brown, a negro man named Bill Wallace from New Jersey and a negro woman, first name Georgianna also from New Jersey, she was 5ft. 7in, brown skin, about 30 years old, 145lb black hair and eyes, considered tall and skinny. Both U.E. members.

"At the dinner table Myrtle & Bill started talking about their trip to Europe, as Bill and Myrtle went over at the same time, Bill told of how he hated to come back, for this reason a operation was performed on him, but despite this he had to come back. Myrtle said the poorest negro in France was better off than the richest negro in America. Julia asked Myrtle about staying over when they went to visit, but Myrtle said the object was to go over and come back to tell the people the wonderful things in Europe, and try to make this Country like Europe.

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MEMO, SAC

"A yellow cab was called by Bill to the Stadium the four went to the ball game, before the game was over Bill left for the Hollander Hotel after the game, Myrtle, Julia Georgianna and another negro woman from out of town 5ft 3in. brown skin, 150 lbs about 48 years old mixed grey hair, and dark eyes, took a cab to the Hollander Hotel where a Banquet was being given for the U.E. there were about thirty five people there, Marie Reed was the only one recignized, Myrtle's party was only there for about twenty minutes, from the Hotel Myrtle, Georgianna, Julia, the woman identified and two white men went to Mary Turner's home to a party being given by the Negro Labor Council to celebrate the victory at Sears Robuck Company, the victory was the hiring of negro women as sales clerk and office work. It seemed these people except Myrtle and Julia were all from New Jersey. One of the white men who drove Bill Wallace's car to Mary's was called Max, he was 5ft 4in thin mustache, jewish decent, black hair brown eyes, 145 lbs. the other man 5ft 4in., 155 lbs, brown hair an eyes. After the party left the Hotel they drove to Myrtle's house to pick up Julia's car, with Myrtle Julia lead the party to Mary's home.

"On arriving at Mary's the police had been called by neighbors, so the party waited until the police left before going in. This was about 12:30 AM about thirty- five people were there, among those recognized were Freda Katz, Margaret Wherry, Ethel Goodman, Albert Brent, Ann Megetovitz, Mary Turner, Eddie Young, C. L. Jennings, Sue Biles, Ike Turner, most of the people were strangers, who seemed to have gotten frighten after the police left, and they also left soon after the arrival of Myrtle's party, soon after that Myrtle left in Julia's car, and the Bill Wallace's car left for the Hotel."

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

Care should be used in disseminating the above information to paraphrase it so as not to reveal the identity of the informant.

[redacted]
SA

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b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio.

October 1, 1952.

On Wednesday at 8: P.M. September 17, 1952 the United Electric Union delegates attended a base ball game between the Cleveland Indians and Washington Senators. At Myrtle Dennis home at 7:P.M. for dinner, at 8711 Quincy Avenue were Julia Brown, a negro man named Bill Wallace from New Jersey and a negro woman, first name Georgianna also from New Jersey, she was 5ft. 7in, brown skin, about 30 years old, 145lb black hair and eyes, considered tall and skinny.Both U,E. members.

At the dinner table Myrtle & Bill started talking about their trip to Europe, as Bill and Myrtle went over at the same time, Bill told of how he hated to come back, for this reason a operation was performed on him, but despite this he had to come back. Myrtle said the poorest negro in France was better off than the richest negro in America. Julia asked Myrtle about staying over when they went to visit, but Myrtle said the object was to go over and come back to tell the people the wonderful things in Europe, and try to make this Country like Europe.

A yellow cab was called by Bill to the Stadium the four went to the ball game, after the game Bill left for the Hollander Hotel after the game , Myrtle, Julia Georgianna and another negro wpman from out of town 5ft 3in. brown skin, 150 lbs about 48 years old mixed grey hair, and dark eyes, took a cab to the Hollander Hotel where a Banquet was being given for the U.E. there were about thirty five people there, Marie Reed was the only one recognized, Myrtle's party was only there for about twenty minutes,from the Hotel Myrtle, Georgianna, Julia,the woman idenfified and two white men went to Mary Turner's home to a party

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C. Y. Ewd

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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

CLEVELAND, OHIO
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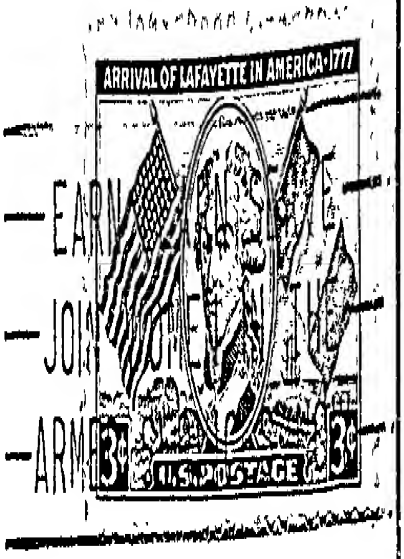

Johnson S. Youngster,

P.O. Box 2268,

Brooklyn Station,

Cleveland 9, Ohio.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio
October 17, 1952

MEMO, SAC

CC:	100-9265	(WILLIAM HABER)	100-20092	(MARY NIKOS)
	100-	(ANTHONY KOVACEVICH)	100-15908	(JAMES WELLS)
	100-6336	(JOE KRAUSE)	100-17087	(CRC)
	100-225	(SYLVIA BRANDT)	100-17261	(NEGRO)
	100-231	(FRIEDA KATZ)		

The following is the verbatim report of [redacted] dated October 10, 1952 received by SA [redacted] on October 13, 1952. The original memo will be found as serial // of [redacted] b6 b7C b7D

"Cleveland, Ohio
October 10, 1952

"On October 2nd, 1952 at 8: P. M. a Civil Rights meeting was held at 5103 Euclid Avenue, for the purpose of reporting on the Wooden case and making plans for the Rally for Freedom which will be held at 14101 Kinsman Road for SIMON GERSON and ISIDOR BRGUN, two communist leaders who were acquited.

"Among those recognized were BILL HABER, MARY NICKOR, FREDA KATZ, JULIA BROWN, JAMES WELLS, SLYVIA BRANDT, JOE KRAUSE, JOE PETRAUS, ANTHONY KAVACECICH, and a white man who is up for deportation, he is about 60 years old, 5 ft. 11 ins., mixed grey hair, 175 lbs, dark complection, this man brought one hundred dollars and gave to FREDA to be sent to the National office in New York, but what National office was not made known. The others present made a collection of nineteen dollars.

"On the WOODEN case FREDA said the Reactionaries put a negro Judge on the bench to try the case in the name of Judge PERRY B. JACKSON and he dismissed the case on the lack of evidence.

"FREDA called the Baptist Ministers Alliance, who were

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FBI - CLEVELAND

meeting here in Cleveland and made an appointment to meet with them on Monday Oct. 6, at 11: A.M. At the Freedom Rally where JULIA will be stationed at the door will be a fee of fity cents. The two communist are to come in at the Air-Port on Saturday Oct. 11, and stop at the Hollander Hotel, where a party will be held."

Care should be used in disseminating the above information to paraphrase it so as not to reveal the identity of the informant.

[redacted]
SA

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Cleveland, Ohio.

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Among those recognized were Bill Haber, Mary Nickor, Freda Katz, Julia Brown, James Wells, Slyvia Brandt, Joe Krause, Joe Petraus,Anthony Kavacecich, and a white man who is up for deportation, he is about 60 years old, 5ft.11 ins.,mixed grey hair, 175 lbs, dark complection, this man brought one hundred dollars and gave to Freda to be sent to the National office in New York, but what National office was not made known. The others present made a collection of nineteen dollars.

On the Wooden case Freda said the Reactionaries put put a negro Judge on the bench to try the case in the name of Judge Perry B. Jackson and he dismissed the case on the lack of evidence.

Freda called the Baptist Ministers Alliance, who were meeting here in Cleveland and made an appointment to meet with them on Monday Oct. 6, at 11: A.M. At the Freedom Rally where Julia will be stationed at the door will be a fee of fifty cents. The two communist are to come in at the Air-Port on Saturday Oct.11,and stop at the Hollander Hotel, where a party will be held.

C. Y. End

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

November 5, 1952

MEMO, SAC:

cc: 100-17289 (PUBLICATIONS)
100-3513 (HUNGARIAN ACTIVITIES)

[redacted] b7D furnished the writer on October 3, 1952, the following two items of literature which informant received on August 15, 1952, at the Hungarian Hall, 11123 Buckeye Road, Cleveland, Ohio:

(1) A 12 page printed pamphlet captioned "New Hungary," Volume II, No. 8, dated July 25, 1952. This pamphlet is published by the Legation of the Hungarian People's Republic, Washington, D. C.

(2) A 4 page lithographed press release of the Legation of the Hungarian People's Republic, Washington, D. C., dated June, 1952, containing a speech by one IMRE DEGEN at the meeting of the panel on the development of international trade at the Moscow International Economic Conference.

These items will be placed in the informant's file, [redacted] b7D

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NEW HUNGARY

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Our Future Is The Youth

Margit Sebjan, daughter of a peasant, reading the Pioneer newspaper "Pajtas."

In April 1952, at the Vienna International Conference for the Protection of Children, the representatives of 61 countries appealed to the peoples of the world to consider the protection of children a primary obligation. Five hundred delegates called on the governments to re-investigate methods for the care of children physically and mentally, to build up a network of maternity and infant welfare institutions, children's hospitals and nurseries and to increase the number of schools. Then, on June 1st, International Children's Day, all the working people of the world were asked to devote greater attention to children: to consider all the means by which the protection of children might be insured.

International Children's Day is considered a significant holiday in the Hungarian People's Democracy, where there are impressive statistics to show how Hungarian children live.

A Sound, Happy Life

The anti-democratic policy of the past regime oppressed not merely the adult population, the working class and peasant parents, but the children too. Parents did not possess the means to rear their children in healthful circumstances. Because of the lack of lying-in homes, the unavailability of modern medical and pharmaceutical care and the unsatisfactory nutrition, more than 13 out of every 100 infants died. Pneumonia, dysentery, tuberculosis and other diseases every year took the lives of 65,000 children under the age of 15 in a country of 9 million people. Traffic accidents also decimated the children of the poor. Working parents could not afford private supervision for their children, and there were no kindergartens and day nurseries available. Every year over a thousand little children roaming the streets were run over and killed.

Since the Liberation the life of the children has changed. Under the Five-Year Plan (1950-54), the people's State

is spending 1,500 million forints ($140,000,000) on the new generation. 43 new lying-in homes, nurseries, playgrounds and all the other establishments for improved child welfare are being built, in addition to new hospitals and clinics.

While the working-class and peasant parents work in the factories or in the fields, trained nurses and kindergarten personnel care for their children in day nurseries. The great advancement is indicated quite well by the fact that in Hungary today there is room for ten times as many children in day nurseries as there was before the Liberation, and in 1954 there will be room for thirty times as many. The capacity of the day nurseries will be increased from 400 in 1938 to 130,000.

A national network of medical and pharmaceutical services and the institution of visiting nurses protect the health of the children. There are medical and dental offices providing free examinations and treatments in the school districts. Children in need of treatment are cared for at special children's clinics and hospitals. Today the working-class and peasant children may also find a place in school sanatoria, where less seriously ill children can regain their health without interrupting their studies.

New playgrounds and sports fields are being opened in cities and villages alike. The children of the working class can spend their holidays at mountain resorts or on the shores of Lake Balaton. This year 68,000 children are enjoying their holidays at such places.

Sixty-five Percent of Students from the Working Class and Peasantry

Before the Liberation the education of the working-class and peasant children was very much neglected. Although the completion of elementary school studies was supposed to be compulsory, 63 per cent of all children dropped out of school before the age of twelve because they were needed at home to help earn money. Besides, they could not afford books and other supplies. In effect the "cultural policy" of the ruling classes closed the gates of the schools to them.

Under the laws of the People's Democracy all children are assured of the opportunity to complete the eight grades of elementary school, and school-age children may not be employed.

This year 65 per cent of secondary school students are working class and peasant children. More and more students are receiving scholarships, and an ever-increasing number are graduating. The professions of which these children could only dream in the past have been opened to them; they may now become doctors, engineers, teachers, scientists or artists.

The Pioneer Movement

Very much has been done for the new happy life of Hungarian children by the Pioneer Movement, which is the largest children's organization. Four years ago it had only 1,600 members. Today 700,000 Pioneers, wearing the blue and red Pioneer ties, are active in 6,500 troops.

Pioneer Homes, whose number is increasing every year, provide settings for many joyful events in a child's life. In these homes children study and play together. A library and film projecting facilities are available for amusement and study, and there are chess and table tennis sets as well as gymnastic apparatus. Many festivities and team competitions are held here regularly.

The Hungarian Pioneers put out a number of periodicals. The largest is "A Pajtas" (The Chum), a weekly printed in 200,000 copies. It depicts the life of children faithfully and expresses their wishes. "Kisdobos" (The Little Drummer) is an excellent literary publication for children; it is edited by the Kossuth-Prize-winning writer and poet Zoltan Zelk.

The Hungarian People's Democracy built the Pioneer Stadium on one of the lovliest spots of Budapest: beautiful Margaret Island.

The State Pioneer Department Store is another favorite place for children. Its brightly lit rooms contain everything a child may need: toys, sports equipment, books, furniture, shoes and clothing.

International Children's Day for Hungarian Children

For International Children's Day the Hungarian children arranged displays in their schools. Their drawings, water colors, and other exhibitions reflected not merely the happy life of the Hungarian children themselves but also their sympathy for the children of Korea suffering the horrors of war and for the young people toiling under colonial oppression. The children took part enthusiastically in collections to aid the Korean children. Not only did they collect money, clothing and medicines, but many sent their favorite toys to show their affection for the children in far-away Korea.

The Hungarian People's Democracy is rallying to the appeal of the International Conference for the Protection of Children. It made June 1st indeed "a great demonstration for peace and friendship among the people in every city, factory and village."

Program Of Electrification

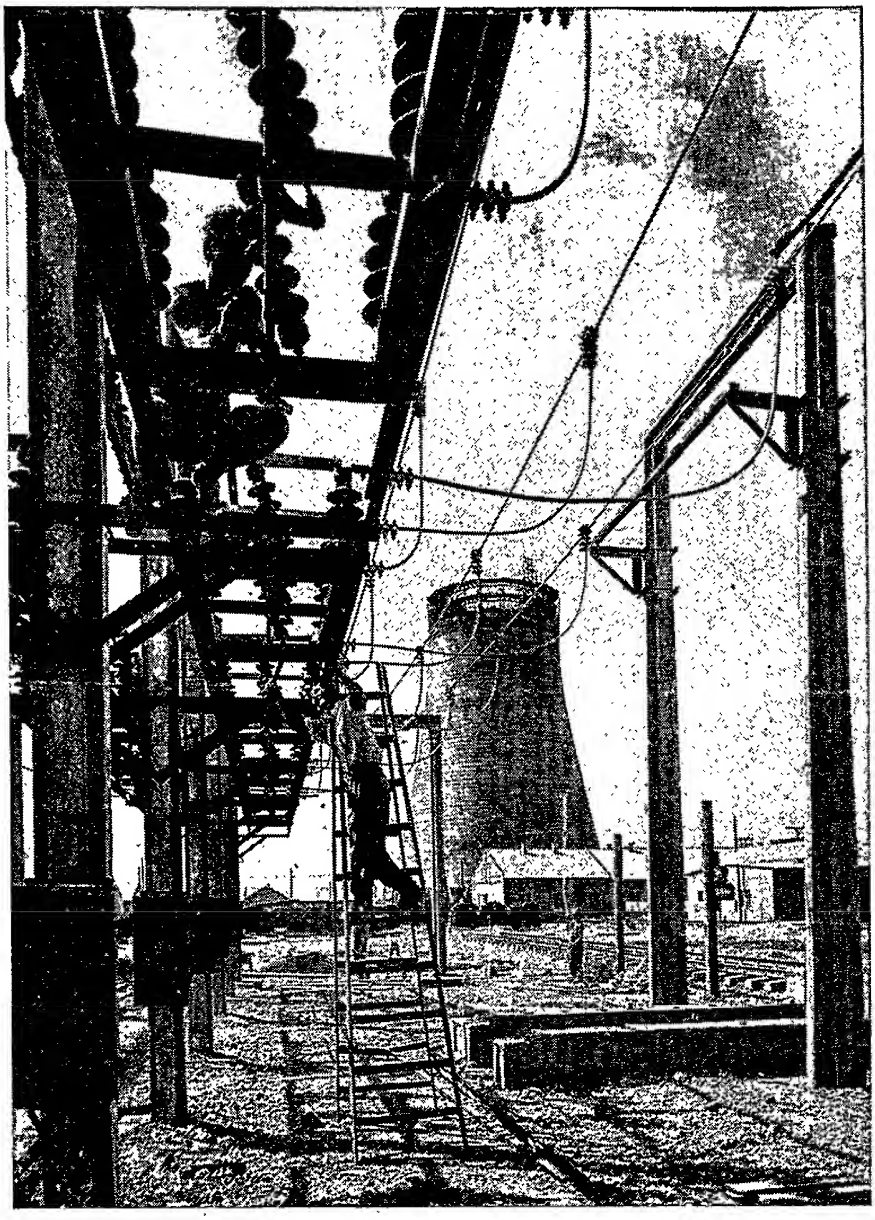
In the capitalist era, electricity, efficient source of energy as well as a provider of comfort and culture, was available only to a fraction of the Hungarian working people. Only 875 of the 3,400 villages of the country were linked up to the electric power network, and many of the working people in the villages supplied with electricity had to do without it in their homes because the owners of the electrical works set the price for electric current far beyond the reach of ordinary people.

After the liberation of Hungary, under the Three-Year Plan for reconstruction (1947-1949), the working people rebuilt and enlarged the power stations damaged by the war. A network of new transmission lines was constructed, making the distribution of electrical energy easier. The electrification of villages began: During the Plan electricity was introduced into 455 villages, and innumerable State farms, machine stations, and producer cooperatives were linked up with the electric power network.

Under the Five-Year Plan (1950-1954), which is to develop Hungary into an industrial country, electrification is proceeding rapidly. The Three-Year Plan increased electric power output to about 150 per cent of the pre-war level; the Five-Year Plan will further increase the capacity of the Hungarian power stations to about five times the 1938 level. A whole string of new, high-capacity power plants are being built under the Plan, including the "November 7 Power Station" of Inota. This power station, supplied with coal from a modern, mechanized lignite mine, began generating power on November 7, 1951.

In addition to thermo-electric power stations, a hydro-electric power plant is also being constructed under the Plan: This is the Tiszalok Power Plant, the power production of which will exceed 55 million kilowatt hours annually.

In the first year of the Five-Year Plan, in 1950, Hungary's output of electric power increased by 18.4 per cent and, in the second year, in 1951, by 18.9 per cent. Increasing production has made it possible to supply hundreds of additional villages with electricity. During the first two years of the Plan, a total of 284 villages, 145 State farms, 121 producer cooperatives, and 63 machine stations were electrified. By 1954, the end of the Five-Year Plan, every Hungarian village will have electricity; there will be no place in Hungary where, with the help of electricity, the light of culture will not shine.



Part of the "November 7" power station, in Inota.

Mechanization of Agriculture

The State farms in Pest County have mechanized 80 per cent of the agricultural work. They use tractor-driven cultivators and machines which make the thinning of plants easier. Much of the hoeing is also being done by machines.

The Budapest Conveying Machinery Factory has begun the manufacture of excavators. These machines will play an important part in the ever-growing Hungarian construction industry.

The Miners See The Light

Coal mining in Hungary in the past was one of the most backward industries in Europe. The semi-colonial country, with its primitive agriculture and poorly developed industry, had no need for modernizing the mining of coal. Chief working tools were the miner's pick and shovel.

Mechanization of coal hewing, loading, and sorting, and modern safety installations were known at best by hearsay, from the stories of miners who had emigrated abroad to escape the misery of the miners' life in Hungary. Production was consequently low. In 1938, the last year before the war, the entire coal production of Hungary hardly exceeded nine million tons, or barely one ton of coal per inhabitant annually. And a great part of this coal was—lignite!

The miners' lives, as well as the methods of coal mining, reminded one of the middle ages in the strictest sense of the word. The miners' villages, which consisted of rows of straw-covered huts, lining dusty streets, were neglected and shut off from all cultural contact. The men who produced the combustible fuel of the power stations could not afford electricity in their homes; smokey petroleum lamps were their source of light. And when the miners attempted to fight for higher wages or for the most primitive social gains, they were answered with volleys of bullets from the rifles of the police.

Since the Liberation the Hungarian coal-mining industry has undergone tremendous development. An industrial and cultural revolution has come to the mining districts. It was an utmost necessity that this happen because the backward country of the past has been transformed into a manufacturing country whose industrialization is rapidly advancing. The great factories, the giant power stations being erected one after the other need more coal than ever.

The truly revolutionary pace of development can be clearly illustrated by the following data: During the Three-Year Plan, ended in 1949, coal production, which before the war was nine million tons, increased in spite of the devastations of war to almost twelve million tons. The Five-Year Plan calls for production three times that of 1938, that is 27.5 million tons of coal by the end of 1954. This means that coal production annually will be three tons per inhabitant of the country.

Such results naturally cannot in any way be attained with the ancient pick and shovel methods. The Government, therefore, has advanced the mechanization of mines through large investments. The aim is to make them veritable underground factories, where heavy labor is performed by machines instead of men.

The Soviet people sent Donbas combines, hundreds of rubber conveyors, coal-drawing machines, electrical drilling machines. Using these most modern machines as models, it was possible to begin the manufacture of up-to-date mining machinery in Hungary. The result was that in 1951 more than two-thirds of the conveying work was performed mechanically and by the end of the Five-Year Plan 80 per cent of this work will have been mechanized.

Production has increased proportionately, for the workers have learned to love the machines. As a consequence, the miners fulfilled their plan by 101.3 per cent in the first quarter of 1952, producing 15 per cent more coal than in the same period the year before.

Great care is taken for the protection of the miners.

Anyone who visits the Hungarian mining districts can fully understand the enthusiasm of the miners for their work because not only the inner face of the mines has been transformed in these districts; not only has the work become easier, more healthful, and safer; the empire of the one-time gendarme-bayonet rule, of the era of dirty and dark huts has disappeared. The Hungarian People's Republic shows affectionate concern for the heroes of the underground coal battles.

Their wages have been raised, miners with good production records receiving high premium pay. All miners may spend their paid holidays in the most beautiful summer resorts of the country. In place of the neglected miners' villages of pre-Liberation days, appear modern, sunny, healthful miners' towns. Such a town is Komlo—one of the sorriest of miners' villages before the Liberation, with only three thousand inhabitants. During the Three-Year Plan this number increased to seven thousand; at present seventeen thousand people live there. By 1954, the end of the Five-Year Plan, a population of sixty thousand is anticipated. A whole new town has been born; the healthful new dwellings with their wide windows are surrounded by a park; the town has a house of culture, a cinema, and many other cultural institutions.

And the same changed picture greets visitors in all Hungarian miners' villages. The collieries are easily reached from the villages by regular bus lines, and everywhere there are new clinics, day nurseries, kindergartens, and schools to take care of the health and development of the miners and their families.

A miner in Hungary today leads a quiet, cultured, and highly respected life. They have changed from human moles leading the life of animals in the depths of the earth into respected workers, the best of whom are decorated by the Government with the highest awards and distinctions. The Hungarian working people are proud of their miners, who are producing in ever increasing quantities an indespensable material for the rapid development of industry.

Growth Of Peace Movement

On June 1st, Peace Meetings were held in Budapest and the 19 county seats of Hungary. They were attended by the best workers of the factories, the best working peasants and representatives of the intelligentsia. Representing the millions rallied behind the Hungarian peace movement, they pledged their determined support of the cause of peace, and reported on their work for the well-being of the country.

In the capital 500, and in the county seats a total of 6,400 deputies participated in the Peace Meetings. During their preparations for the meetings, the working people of the country once again demonstrated that they had come to understand that good work is at one with the defense of the country and the safeguarding of peace. In the factories and villages preparations for the Peace Meetings included efforts to overfulfill goals of the Plan, "peace shifts," and drives to help those backward in production.

The delegates of the working people of the capital assembled in the main hall of the Budapest Academy of Music. Kalman Pongracz, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Budapest Municipal Council delivered the keynote speech to the rally. He said in part: "Attention to international affairs is the basis for the everyday work of our peace committees. If our working people see clearly that they share in the world-wide struggle against war, they will draw conclusions from this fact and measure up even better in their daily work. We are proud to report that in this respect our peace movement has made particularly significant progress. International questions are more and more regularly discussed at the peace meetings."

Mr. Pongracz reported on the results achieved during the preparation for the Peace Meetings held in towns and villages. In the first half of May, 15,000 local peace meetings were held in Budapest. At these meetings the working people discussed how to help the preservation of peace. Many of them made pledges to do their work better because in that way they can take active part in the struggle for building the country and make it strong for the protection of peace.

The peace meetings had many foreign guests, some of them spoke about the struggle of peace of their own country.

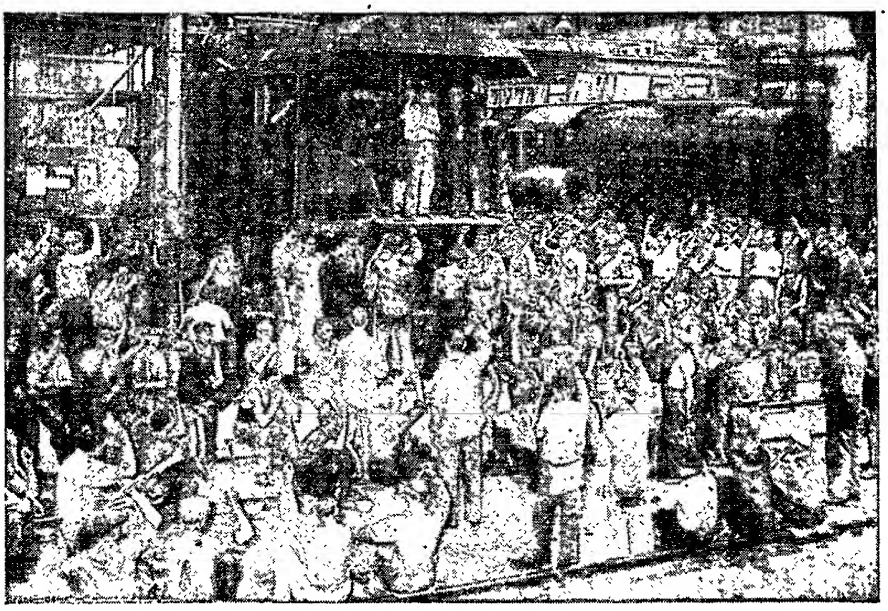
At the Budapest meeting, certificates of honor were awarded by the National Peace Council to 50 partisans of peace from Budapest who had done outstanding work. Before the awards were presented, Academician Erzsebet Andics, chairman of the National Peace Council, spoke:

"The Hungarian people—she said—know very well that the strengthening of the power of our country is their most valuable contribution to the cause of peace. It was not a matter of pure chance that the Hungarian people delegated to the peace meetings those who are outstanding in work. This is how the peace meetings have become conferences of the best sons and daughters of the Hungarian people. This is why at these conferences so much is said of ever more effective work. This is why these conferences will bring great results and why they will be followed by an unprecedented rise of activity in the peace movement in Hungary."

The day of the meetings coincided with the International Children's Day. During the morning, children's programs were arranged at various points of the capital to amuse the little ones. In the afternoon and evening orchestras, cultural ensembles of factories, professional artists and Pioneer groups offered rich entertainment.

There was great enthusiasm at the county peace meetings also. Foreign guests participated and spoke at a number of them. Everywhere in the country the audiences demonstrated unanimously for the immediate release of Jacques Duclos and André Stil.

These meetings made the working people more deeply aware of their solidarity with the other freedom-loving peoples of the world. They gave a new impetus to the Hungarian people to do their best for the preservation of peace.



An on-the-job-meeting called to plan a peace rally.

Romanian - Hungarian Agreement

The delegation of the Romanian People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic have signed an agreement of trade and payment for 1952. The agreement, signed in Bucharest, calls for an increase in the volume of trade over the previous year. The Hungarian People's Republic will ship machines, machine tools, communication equipment, rolled goods and medicines. The Romanian People's Republic will, in turn, send timber, oil and and chemical products, minerals and heavy industrial equipment.

They Save For Themselves

Under the Five-Year Plan big projects are being built, the like of which have never before been constructed in Hungary. Furthermore, there now exists a program for a sharp rise in productivity and in the living standard of the people that would have been impossible to reach with the old techniques and the old equipment. The working people, the factory managers and the industrial leaders, who at the time of the launching of the Plan did not have as yet sufficient practice in planning, thought that the objectives of the Plan could be attained only if each in his own field would enlarge the capacity of his plant with high investments.

The Experience of Planning

The actual realization of the Plan, however, has brought a number of surprises. It has been found that the ingenuity of the workers, the effective application of advanced Soviet work methods and the changed attitude of the working people towards their work —which they no longer consider as drudgery but as a matter of honor for themselves and for society—are exposing huge, up-to-now hidden reserves within the plants. It has become clear that, although large investments are needed to reach the targets of the Five-Year Plan, the reserves tapped in the course of production may cancel the need for part of the investment allocations.

The successful carrying out of the Five-Year Plan so far has given the Hungarian working people another important experience: they have learned that the sums they save from investments may be effectively spent by the State elsewhere to accelerate projects of national importance.

The Thrift Movement is Launched

On the basis of this experience, during the last few weeks a new, highly significant movement has been launched by the Hungarian working people. Early in April the workers at the Gyor Wagon Factory announced in a letter that, considering the output of their factory, the capacity still unused and the reserves opened up, they found that they could fulfill and even overfulfill their goals without using all of their investment allocations. Therefore, they were willing to free 2,725,000 forints* of their investment appropriations and to make this sum available for the people's economy to spend on other important projects of the Plan.

The workers of the Gyor Wagon Factory were able to accomplish these tremendous savings by the use of technical improvements, the rearrangement of machines and the simplification of the material conveying system within the plant. Thus, the purchase of a whole array of machines became needless. Of, course, the sums appropriated for the greater welfare of the working people, for health protection and other social benefits, were not cut a single penny.

National Responses

The challenge of the Gyor workers found a ready response all over the country and gave rise to a powerful movement. The leaders of the plants carefully re-examined their investment plans, took stock of their resources and discussed how they, too, could return part of their investment funds to the people's economy. It turned out that there was hardly a plant which, if it scrutinized existing opportunities and utilized them, could not affect significant savings in the field of investments.

What are the ways and means by which the working people in Hungarian factories effect savings?

The MAVAG Factory, whose savings exceed 3,500,000 forints, finds better organization the best source of savings. The directors of the Csepel Automobile Factory found that through the better utilization of Soviet experience, with the acceleration of manufacturing technology and with simplification in new constructions, they could save over 3,000,000 forints. In the Ganz Shipyards, with just a more efficient utilization of available space, the building of a 600,000 forint store-room and an 820,000 forint laboratory was made unnecessary. The working people of the Kobanya Textile Mills are saving 800,000 forints as they begin not to store the goods before they go to the finishing shop but to send them directly to be processed. In this way there is no need for the building of a new store-room. The Construction Elements Factory, on the other hand, eliminated the need for a more than one-million forint travelling crane this year by reorganizing production processes. A long list of examples could be given to show what a treasury of up-to-now hidden reserves has been opened up by the enthusiasm of the working people in various plants.

How the Savings Are Spent

What do these savings mean for Hungarian national economy? How do they accelerate the construction of the big Hungarian peace projects? What new projects do they make possible?

Let us take a single example. The Ozd Metallurgical Plants in Northern Hungary this year received an appropriation of 40 million forints to set up a new agglomerating shop. When, however, the working people reorganized the work of the already existing agglomerating installation, coordinated the work of the charging and the conveying systems and changed to the Soviet system of production according to graphs, it turned out that the capacity of the existing agglomerator could be increased about 40 per cent; this, the installation of a new one became unnecessary. From this saving of 40 million forints three modern Martin-Siemens furnaces can be built.

The rapid spread of the "Thrift in Investments" movement, its great results and the careful attention with which the working people are re-examining their plans are further proof of the enthusiasm with which the Hungarian working people are fulfilling their Five-Year Plan and building socialism.

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* 100 forints is equal to $8.42.

Radio Log

Radio Budapest broadcasts to North America every evening at 7.30 P. M. and at 11:00 P. M., Eastern Standard Time. There is a variety of programs that are of particular attention value as follows:

Sunday evenings: **Radio Mailbag (answering mail from listeners).**

Tuesday evenings: **Life in Hungary.**

Thursday evenings: **Peace Round-up.**

Saturday evenings: **Music from Hungary and other lands.**

These programs are broadcast on the following wave lengths:

meters	megacycles
19.35	15.49
25.00	11.99
30.5	9.83

The Agricultural Outlook For 1952

The year 1951 was the best crop year in Hungary since the Liberation. This was due to the extension of large-scale farming, the many-sided aid given the working peasantry and to the favorable weather. About 6.6 million quintals more bread grains and 1.7 million quintals more fodder grains were harvested than in the previous year. In the period of crop gathering every day over 3,500 wagons of produce were stored in granaries. Average yields were higher in all the principal crops than the ten years average before the war. As compared to then, 22.8 per cent more wheat, 21.5 per cent more rye and 19.2 per cent more barley were obtained from a hectare on an average. The superiority of socialist farming is indicated by the fact that State farms achieved bread grain yields that were 13 per cent, and producer cooperatives yields that were 8 per cent higher than the average crop results on individual peasant farms.

The tillage area of the socialist sector has considerably increased as compared to the last year. The State farms cultivate 32.3 per cent and the producer cooperatives 120 per cent larger areas than last year. The mechanization of agriculture is proceeding at an unprecedented rate. Over 15,000 tractors, almost as many threshers, 3,000 harvestors and 170 harvester combines help the working peasants to do the heaviest part of their toil. The most advanced agrotechnical methods are ever more extensively applied, selected seeds are sown on larger areas and crop cultivation is done more carefully. The organization of labor has been improved and better provisions are made for crop gathering.

Resolution of the Council of Ministers on the Harvest and Threshing

This year the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic has made provisions well in advance to ensure the smooth completion of the harvest and threshing. The resolution of the Council of Ministers published on May 18 gives expert and precise directions to the working peasantry fixing the dates for the harvest of the various crops, and enlisting the aid of the local Councils and other authorities. Preparations are made to ensure the necessary manpower, transport vehicles, fuel and storage room. Instruction is given to the 371 agricultural machine stations to work out detailed schedules for the full and efficient utilization of the machines required for harvesting and threshing.

Increased Sowing Areas

"As you sow, thus shall you reap," says an old proverb. The Hungarian producer cooperatives and State farms as well as the individually farming peasants have sown the autumn and spring grains according to a well-planned schedule, taking care to sow the varieties which ripen at the same time on neighboring plots. In this way they have reduced the empty runs of work and power machines and the means of transportation used for crop delivery.

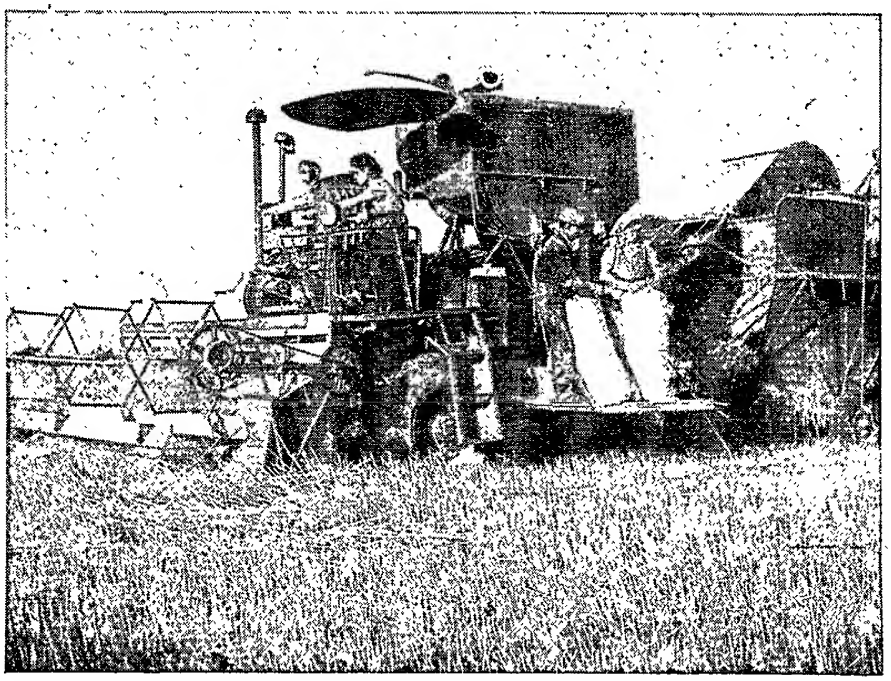
Although the sowing areas of grains are constantly increasing, due to yarovization and the cleaning of sowing seeds done to an ever increasing extent, the proportion of land sown with selected seeds is also growing. The sowing area for autumn barley, for instance, is now more than one and a half times what it was the preceding year. Yet it was possible to sow 22 per cent of the sowing area with selected seeds, although a year earlier only 11 per cent of the then much smaller sowing area could be sown with selected seeds.

New Agrotechnical Methods

The most recent results of agronomy were applied in sowing and crop care. In the "Peace Guard" Producer Cooperative in the Transdanubian village of Lippo, County of Baranya, for instance, all autumn and spring grains were sown in cross rows. In the majority of the State farms and producer cooperatives rye was artificially pollinated to promote an even development of grains. With this method a five quintal surplus can be gained per hectare. To get higher yields on the lands of all State farms and producer cooperatives, and most of the individually farming peasants, too, the newly sown fields were rolled and harrowed and provided with fertilizers.

The Mechanization of Harvesting

According to the resolution of the Council of Ministers the harvest is to



The new Hungarian-made harvesters speed production to help break crop records.

be completed in 20 days. Thus the machine stations have to be prepared for the harvest to be able to put the largest possible number of machines into operation. They must utilize them to capacity and thus reduce the hand reaping of grains to a minimum.

In 1951 over 3,000 tractors, 1,250 binders, 850 harvesters and 850 stackers were made available to the Hungarian village. The series production of harvester combines, has been begun. There has been a 50 per cent increase in the number of machine station employees. The proportion of women workers at the machine stations is 40 per cent. The pace of mechanization is accelerating and by the end of the Five-Year Plan 50 per cent of the harvest work will be done by machine power.

The Contribution of the Local Council

The Local Councils are responsible for the direction of the harvest preparations and the preliminary organization of deliveries. The Councils hold conferences with the State farms, producer cooperatives and machine stations and coordinate the plans of these various units.

The Local Councils assess the available manpower, traction power, vehicles, implements and fuel well before the beginning of the harvest. They determine what is still needed and make provisions for reserves. They organize signalling services, call the best workers of the socialist sector and the individually farming peasants together to exchange experiences, they hold discussions on new work methods and new processes, and supervise the schedules. Thus they render direct aid to the working peasantry not only in the socialist sector, but in the ranks of individually farming peasants also.

The Local Councils provide for the planned effective cooperation of State farms, producer cooperatives and machine stations and the precise execution of the resolution of the Council of Ministers. The Councils organize and supervise the work competitions which have grown popular in agriculture also. They will submit recommendations for the decoration and rewarding of the agricultural workers, work teams and brigades, the producer cooperatives and groups doing the best work and attaining the top results, which is customary every year.

Stadium Nears Completion

Going from the Eastern Railway Station towards Hungarian Boulevard in Budapest, one can see two huge construction projects now under way. One under ground and the other above ground, they serve widely different purposes, but they have one great thing in common: they are both creations of the Five-Year Plan. The first is the terminus of the Underground Railway; the second is the largest stadium in Central Europe, the Budapest People's Stadium.

The erection of the large stadium was made necessary by the steady and tremendous development of Hungarian sports life after 1945: the transformation of many branches of sports into mass sports and the public's increasing interest in them. The new Underground Railway will help to solve the problem of simple, speedy transportation for the masses going to the stadium.

The stands of the People's Stadium now under construction will hold 100,000 people. The People's Democracy has called into existance what was always promised but never put into effect by Horthy-fascism: the building of a huge, up-to-date stadium large enough to hold even an Olympiad.

The 360 x 260 Meter Stadium

The huge ellipse makes an impressive sight: the border of the opposite western stand is 260 meters from the entrance, and the long diameter measures 360 meters.

The stands are completely open but there is a covered promenade extending around the ground floor under the ferro-concrete building, which, in case of rain, can shelter 80,000 people.

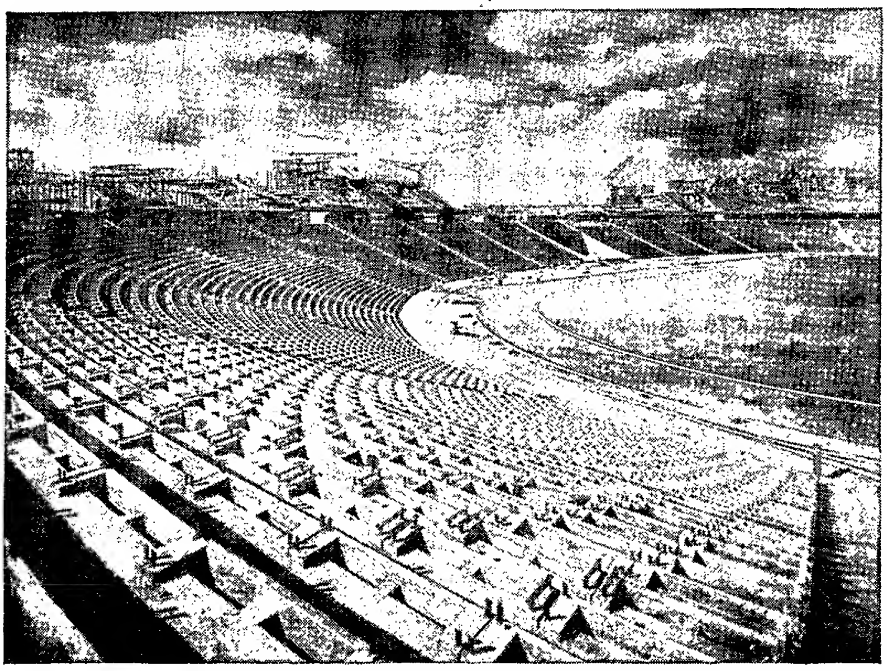
The Sportsgrounds

The sports grounds have also been planned effectively. The soccer field in the middle is surrounded by a 400-meter red cinder running track and a 3,000 meter obstacle course with water ditches on the eastern side.

Behind the two goals there will be grounds for field events. Plans for these were made only after meteorological conditions had been studied. No matter the direction of the wind, the competitors can choose a favorable contest ground. Thus the possibility for controversies is eliminated.

The beautiful People's Stadium will be opened for 80,000 people next year, on April 4, 1953, at the annual celebration of Liberation Day. Within the next two years construction will be extended for 20,000 more spectators.

About 80 percent of the entire construction of the stadium consists of assembling pre-fabricated elements. In beauty and architectural mastery the Budapest People's Stadium, will rank among the world's outstanding stadia.



General view of the stands of the new stadium.

Transformation Of A Village

Near the western border of Hungary, in County Vas, on the river Raba, lies the village of Rabahidveg. Its past is similar to that of many other Hungarian villages. Of its 4,700 acres, 1,200 belonged to Baron Swebach and 2,800 to the Kulaks and the Catholic Church. 135 families in the village did not own any land at all; of these 32 families served the Baron, and the rest moved about from place to place as migratory farm laborers.

The annual wage of those who worked for the Baron was 20 pengoes (in pre-war currency 11 pengoes were worth 5 dollars), and 50 bushels of wheat. The villagers knew very little of the world outside. Only a few of them got farther than the third grade of elementary school. They never read a newspaper, and they hardly ever saw a book.

The exterior of the village has not changed much in the last seven years. Only two new concrete bridges and 29 new dwellings have been built. These new houses, however, were built for a new type of villager. For those who are interested in the world beyond their garden fence, who visit the new culture house, study at special agricultural and general educational courses and are getting used to caring about the affairs of the whole country. They read newspapers and attend meetings, and more and more of them are taking part in the work of the local council.

The greatest change in the life of the villagers was due to the fact that the land now belongs to the working peasants and that the symbol of the peasantry of the future—the cooperative—has appeared. Three years ago ten brave new landholders formed a cooperative. Today it has 156 members, 80 of whom joined this year and brought with them 560 acres of land. In 1949, when the cooperative started, its livestock consisted of two horses and two oxen. Today there are 68 head of cattle, 385 pigs and 11 pairs of horses. New stables, fattening sheds, breeding stables and two fodder silos have been built.

The villagers are proud of their cooperative. It extends over a total of 1,680 acres of land and is led by a former landless peasant. In the last harvest the yield of the cooperative was about four bushels higher than the average yield of the village peasants not in the cooperative. The income of the members was 19 forints in cash, 6.2 pounds of wheat, two pounds of rye, two pounds of corn, two pounds of barley, two pounds of oats and two and a half pounds of sugar for each work unit. Each cooperative member gives a minimum of 120 work units, or working days, per year.

BEFORE

The women of the village have also experienced a great change in the past seven years. Some of them hold leading positions in the cooperative and on the local council. The village has its own cultural group, a library with a permanent membership of 250, Saturday and Sunday cinema performances and a number of the villagers now subscribe regularly to newspapers.

The children of the village, after completing eight years of elementary school are sent to the secondary school of a nearby town. Some of them are planning on a university education.

AFTER

Eight of the new dwellings built in Rabahidveg.

Natural Science Reservations

In Hungary today reservation areas are important media for natural science training. The number of such areas, which are under the control of the National Council for the Protection of Nature, is constantly increasing. Most recently "Duzzogo Lake" near Szekesfehervar in Transdanubia, was turned into a reservation area. The lake is surrounded by forests containing the most varied types of trees. Two granite-stone areas in the Velence mountain region and the rocky hills hear the villages of Pakozd and Sukoro, which have assumed unusual shapes because of the successive effects of rain and wind, have also been turned into a reservation area. Alcsut park, which had in the past been restricted to use by the ruling classes, will also be turned into such an area. The park is particularly interesting because of its botanical treasures.

The Role of the National Philharmonia

Every year in Hungary today there are presented more than a thousand symphony concerts, chamber music programs and solo performances. For almost every one of these the "Sold Out" sign must be hung on the box office of the Academy of Music, of Bartok Hall, of the Municipal Theatre, which is the second opera house in Budapest, or of the auditoriums in the smaller cities.

These thousand concerts are many times more than the number that used to be arranged for an exclusive stratum of the population in pre-Liberation Hungary. Today ninety per cent of all concert tickets are bought by the working masses at their places of employment through the agency of their cultural representatives. Because of the great popular interest, concert halls have proved too small, and almost every series of programs must be repeated.

Tasks of Cultural Policy

The task of National Philharmonia, a recently formed concert organizing establishment, differs essentially from that of the old concert bureaus that were conducted solely on a business basis. Its purpose is to give education in the arts and to satisfy the musical needs of the new Hungarian concert audiences. In addition to arranging concerts, National Philharmonia turns the aims of the national cultural policy into reality; it establishes a new link between audiences and performers.

It is the task of National Philharmonia to turn the interest of the audience into knowledge and to bring out the meaning of music in a form that will educate the musically less advanced public. For this reason next year's concerts will be introduced by brief explanatory lectures, and popular literature will be published about composers and their works.

In the interest of creating a close tie with the public, National Philharmonia is organizing a correspondence group, with whose help of criticism and inquiries into public opinion it will improve upon its work.

Program Policy

The experience of the 1951-52 season showed that the new concert audiences are impressionable and free from prejudices. The programs, therefore, are drawn up to suit them, though they also aim to serve the development of Hungarian artists.

In drawing up the programs the directors take care to avoid crowding together many unknown or new works. The most popular composers in Hungary today are Bach, Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart and Tchaikovsky; but Debussy, Ravel, Respighi, De Falla, Richard Strauss, Shostakovich, Khachaturian, Kabalevsky, Allan Bush and Ireland, besides Bartok, Kodaly, Weiner and the new Hungarian composers, Szabo, Farkas and Servansky, are receiving more and more appreciation.

Three Kinds of Programs

As a rule National Philharmonia arranges three kinds of concerts: One kind, which is organized from the viewpoint of music history, has an educational aim. (It contains works by Bach, Handel, Mozart, and the like, who are masters of a certain period, classics of musical literature.) The second kind aims at stimulating the interest of the new public and developing further the taste of the old concert-goers by giving them popular works. (The works range from Bach to Prokofiev, Liszt, Tchaikovsky and other modern composers and orchestral masters of the 19th and 20th centuries.) The third kind of program is devoted to the works of one composer. (There are Beethoven evenings or Chopin evenings or Bartok evenings.)

In deciding on a certain series of concerts National Philharmonia takes into consideration not only its educational aims but also the abilities, inclinations and requests of Hungarian performing artists.

Performing Artists and Youth

National Philharmonia insures the Hungarian artists of regular work; it draws up their concert programs and then, with their cooperation, makes the final arrangements. In this way it is able to serve their best interests.

National Philharmonia does not forget to provide for the education of young artists and to make it possible for them to appear on the concert stage. Young graduates likely to become performing artists are being given more and more opportunities to perform in Budapest and in the provinces. The development of young talent is very important, for it is the youth who will become the creators of Hungarian concert life tomorrow. Therefore, great care is taken to let young artists appear at just the right moment, not too early but just as soon as they have acquired the knowledge enabling them to be good musicians in both theory and practice. This is a procedure in which accomplished artists are glad to lend their instruction and their judgement.

State Symphony Orchestra

The Hungarian Symphony Orchestra works within the framework of National Philharmonia. This orchestra annually gives 110-120 concerts of a very high standard. In winter they are held in the Municipal Theatre, and in summer in the open air. With its program policy, the development of its inner life and the rising level of its performances, the Hungarian State Symphony Orchestra is well on the way to becoming a first-rate orchestra completely able to fulfill its aims.

In addition to performances by the State Symphony Orchestra, there are many concerts in Hungary today by the symphony orchestras of the Iron Workers Trade Union, the State Railway, the Hungarian Railway, the Civil Services Trade Union and the Philharmonic Society.

Musical Life in the Provinces

National Philharmonia is faced with the most important task of organizing concert life in the provinces, a life which was entirely neglected in the past. It has to create musical centers, where musical life will thrive.

This year branches of National Philharmonia are being formed in Miskolc and in Szeged, which in time will develop into independent philharmonic groups. Their activities will extend to more than one town: the Miskolc group, for instance, will work in Northern Hungary and the Szeged group in Southern Hungary. Helped by cooperation between National Philharmonia and local conservatories, these groups will later on become independent professional orchestras.

Gyor, Sopron, Szombathely and Pecs already have their own permanent orchestras. As a result of the patronage extended by the State Symphony Orchestra, these orchestras are rapidly improving the quality of their performances. It is a question of only a short time before they, too, will attain the high artistic level of the symphony orchestra in Budapest.

Cultural Notes

Spring Art Exhibition

The Annual Spring Art Exhibition had its gala opening in the Gallery of Fine Arts in Budapest. The opening speech was made by the painter Istvan Csok, who has won the Kossuth Prize twice and is chairman of the Association of Hungarian Artists. Mr. Csok stressed that Hungarian artists have every opportunity to develop their talent, and that their task now is to create works which would be understood and liked by the people. The slogan of Hungarian artists should be "For the people, in the defense of peace."

State Rural Theater

The State Rural Theater has just returned from its third highly successful tour of Fejer County. In the past five months the Rural Theater has spent a total of 37 days in the villages. In some of them the demand for tickets was so great that two performances had to be held daily.

Mihaly Munkacsy Exhibition

In June and July the Ministry of People's Culture and the National Center of Museums and Memorials sponsored a Mihaly Munkacsy Memorial exhibition in the Budapest Gallery of Fine Arts.

New Historical Play

In the coming season the Budapest National Theater will present the historical play "Example at Ozora," which is set in the period of the Hungarian revolution of 1848. The play was written by Gyula Illyes, a winner of the Kossuth Prize.

Educators Meet

The Union of Hungarian Educators held a two-day conference in Budapest. The delegates attended the opening of the Exhibition of Pedagogic Innovations. The materials displayed—mainly projects for object lesson methods—were sent in by more than 1,000 educators from various parts of the country.

New Soviet Ballet in Budapest

A new Soviet Ballet, "The Fountain of Bakhchiserai," with music by Assafyev, and based on the poem by Pushkin, was presented in the Hungarian capital. R. Zakharov, Ballet master of the Moscow Bolshoi Theater, who has won the Stalin prize several times, directed the ballet.

Translation of Jorge Amado's Works

The Literary Publishers have recently released a Hungarian translation of Brazilian writer Jorge Amado's novel "Jubaiba." The book depicts the life and struggle of Brazilian Negroes.

World Literary Review

The Association of Hungarian Writers is planning to publish a World Literary Review. The Review, which is to appear monthly, will carry articles dealing with foreign literary events, theoretical discussions and literature in general.

Garden Literary Review

The Budapest District Council has set up a garden library. In this library, which contains 16,000 volumes, books can be read in comfort at tables placed in a beautiful garden. The library has many visitors.

Book Shows

The Hungarian National Peace Council, working with the State Publishing House, arranged a series of book shows and literary evenings from May 26th to June first as part of the June 1st peace rally.

Alan Bush in Budapest

Alan Bush, the British composer and conductor, was recently a guest of the Budapest Academy of Music. Mr. Bush conducted the Hungarian State Symphony Orchestra in a performance of Mozart's Magic Flute Overture, his own Cello Concerto, with Vera Denes as soloist, the London Overture by Ireland and Beethoven's Third Symphony.

Film Delegation in Germany

A four-member delegation of film technicians recently left for the German Democratic Republic to study film producing technique there.

Foreign Language Academy

Next September, an evening session will be added to the new type of foreign language academy opened in September, 1951 in Budapest. At present 250 students are studying Russian, English, French or German in the school. In three years they will be trained as interpreters and specialized translators. Next year the school will admit 500 students.

Foreign Trade

French Trade Agreement

Representatives of the French and Hungarian governments have agreed to extend the French-Hungarian Trade Agreement for one more year. It calls for the shipment of agricultural produce, and light and heavy industrial products from Hungary, while France is to send various raw materials and semi-finished articles to Hungary. At the same time, Jacques Delalande, French Minister to Budapest, and Istvan Antos, First Deputy of the Hungarian Minister of Finance, exchanged documents ratifying last year's agreement and signed some papers regulating payments.

Trade with Finland

A trade agreement between Hungary and Finland was signed in Helsinki on November 5, 1951. Valid for 1952, the agreement is estimated to reach 3.5 million dollars in each direction. Finnish exports to Hungary will include pulpwood and wood pulp, telegraph poles, sawn goods, cellulose, paper, synthetic textile materials and machinery.

Hungarian exports to Finland will include sugar, agricultural products, floor and wall tiles, porcelain, motorcycles, bicycle parts, machinery, chemicals and textiles.

Norwegian Trade with Hungary

The trade agreement between Hungary and Norway was renewed in January 1952, for a further year. Hungary will export sugar, radio parts, cut hardwood, hemp, thread, glass for vacuum flasks, fabrics, incandescent lamps and other commodities, including sewing machines. The Norwegian exports will include oils, fats, fish, chemicals, wood pulp, staple rayon fibre and machines.

Agreement with Bulgaria

A one-year trade and payment agreement between Hungary and Bulgaria was signed in Budapest on February 28. The agreement provided for a substantial increase in the volume of goods to be exchanged between the two countries. Products to be delivered to Hungary include pyrites, iron ore, coal, tobacco, hides and sulphuric acid. In return Bulgaria will receive mining and refrigeration equipment, machinery, petroleum products, chemicals and drugs.

News In Brief

New Railway Station

The increase of rail traffic in Trans-Danubia has necessitated the remodeling and enlarging of the railway station at Szekesfehervar. The new station will have a special waiting room for mothers and children, with bathrooms, rest rooms and a kitchen in which to prepare the children's food.

Subway Station Nearing Completion

The 130-yard long platforms and station tunnel of the People's Stadium Station of the Budapest subway were completed some days ahead of schedule. Work is still being done on the ticket hall, and escalators. The interior of the station will be of marble, decorated with sculptures.

Hungarian-Soviet Transport Agreement

A long-term mutual goods transport agreement was signed in Moscow by the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic. An agreement concerning the transport of complete factory installations and Soviet technical aid for Hungary between 1952 and 1955, was signed at the same time.

New Department of Sanatorium

A new pulmonary surgery department of the Tuberculosis Sanatorium in Debrecen was opened recently. Speaking at the dedication ceremonies, Minister of Health Anna Ratko pointed out that Hungary has achieved excellent results in its efforts to combat tuberculosis. Deaths due to this disease have been decreased by 6,000 annually, as compared to the period before the liberation.

Model Stores in Budapest

In the middle of May all the retail enterprises opened model stores in Budapest. 75 per cent of the employees in these stores were women. They serve and counsel customers, recommend articles, select goods for sale and arrange the window displays.

New Sanatorium in Buda Hills

A new four-story, 250-bed tuberculosis hospital is being built on the site of a pulmonary surgery hospital left uncompleted in 1941. It is situated at Budakeszi, in the Buda hills. The first part will be finished by spring of 1953, and the whole sanatorium will be completed by autumn of the same year.

Protestants Greet Peace Conference

The Hungarian Protestant Church sent a telegram of greeting to the Peace Conference of all the religious denominations in the Soviet Union. The message was addressed to Patriarch Alexei, who had originally proposed that such a conference be held.

Terminal of Budapest Subway

The Buda terminal of the Budapest subway is being built under the Vermezo. The row of columns is already taking shape. Trains will enter the terminal on both sides of the 150 yard long platform.

Eighty-Two New Stores

Before the liberation the 15th District of Budapest was one of the most neglected, backward peripheries of the capital. Now, through the local Council, the government makes special efforts to improve the consumer supplies of the part of the city and to raise the living standard of the residents. 82 new stores have been opened in this section and before the year is out there will be ten more.

More Mining Machinery

The production of machines used in mining will be doubled during 1952, it was announced in Budapest. The manufacture of new types of machines and the modernization of old types will begin.

Council Reports

The members of the Budapest Municipal Council and the various District Councils reported to their voters in May and the first part of June on their activities until then. These reports strengthen the close relationship between the Councils and the people.

Ultraviolet-Ray Treatment

Increased health provisions are extended to Hungarian villages. To give just one characteristic example: in the county of Hajdu-Bihar 10,000 rural children were given ultraviolet-ray treatment and the school dentistry service of the county examined the teeth of over 3,500 children within a single month.

Secondary School Graduates Continue Studies

A large percentage of the students now graduating from the primary and secondary schools have already registered for further study. In Budapest over 80 per cent, and nationally 60 per cent of the graduating students wish to continue their education.

Ferenc Klics Sets New Record

Ferenc Klics, an outstanding young athlete, set a new Hungarian discus throwing record with a throw of 53.44 meters at the international contest held under the auspices of the Fourth Congress of Free German Youth.

Progress at Sztalinvaros

The construction of several new shops has been started at the Stalin Iron Works. The first furnaces of the power plant will be put into operation before the end of the year. The oxygen plant is now being completed and a Martin unit is being installed. Additional construction is under way at the smelting and cooking plants. During 1952 an additional 900 dwelling units will be built in the new city itself. The building of the new port on the Danube, where the project is situated, is also progressing rapidly.

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PRESS RELEASE

June, 1952

SPEECH BY IMRE DEGEN AT THE MEETING OF THE PANEL ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE AT THE MOSCOW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

On the morning of April seventh, Imre Degen, the head of the Hungarian delegation to the Moscow International Economic Conference, addressed the panel dealing with the development of international trade.

"In the years that have elapsed since the end of the Second World War, Hungarian economic circles have been increasingly striving to restore and further develop the international relations which had been disrupted by the war," he said.

"Evidence of these efforts is the fact that our country now has commercial agreements with 29 countries, and the number of countries from which Hungary imports goods and to which she exports products is far greater. The increased export opportunities which our People's Democracy affords us are indicated by the fact that Hungary's foreign trade volume reached the pre-Second World War level in 1949. The volume has been increasing ever since and in 1951 exceeded the 1938 standard by approximately 35 per cent.

"Since the end of the Second World War, Hungary has developed a close economic relationship with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The results of this constantly strengthening planned cooperation, supported by long-term agreements, has been a new form of economic relationship between the peoples, a relationship based on full equality, mutual aid and advantages. Since our country has been guided by the desire for peaceful work and the preservation of peace in the field of international trade also, we have made possible our goods licensed for exports to every country without restrictions, on the basis of equality and mutual economic advantages.

"The monetary value of our trade with the Western countries — which in 1946 barely exceeded 300 million forints — amounted to 3 billion forints in 1949, rising each succeeding year. This, in spite of the fact that the circles participating in the rearmament race have prevented a sound post-war development of international economic life.

"The Hungarian Government did not resort to a discriminatory economic policy against the countries, some of which have even gone so far as to include medicines and scientific books on the prohibitive list of 'strategic materials.' Our country was of the opinion that a policy which leads to unhealthy international economic relations and is chiefly disadvantageous to the economic life of the Western countries would not be lasting, for actual economic interests are stronger than artificial

barriers to trade. Nevertheless, these prohibitive measures have caused a regression in our trade with the Western countries. The volume of this trade was much smaller in 1950 and 1951 than it had been in 1949. Western trade circles were surely affected by the fact that they had to restrict their commercial relations with Hungary, an advantageous source of imports and market for exports.

"The flourishing development of the people's economy of Hungary proves that the economic restrictions employed against her were unable to obstruct her economic progress. Thus 1951, the year in which the most extensive measures directed against us were in force, was also the year in which the possibilities of raising the original aims of our economy increased and we were able to overfulfill even our augmented production plan. This meant, among other things, an increase of 30.1 per cent in the output of industry and of 37.7 per cent in heavy industry over the previous year.

"Our delegation wishes to express to this historically important international conference Hungary's sincere intentions to continue the policy she has followed until now in her foreign economic relations. This policy aims at developing foreign trade and maintaining and strengthening economic relations with the largest possible number of countries.

"If economic relations based on mutual interests and conditions of equality were established, Hungary could, in view of her resources and requirements, purchase goods from the Western countries valued at two and a half billion Swiss francs at present rates, and could export to them goods in equal amounts in the next three years. (1953-1955).

"In broadening our international goods exchange, we are particularly interested in strengthening trade relations with the countries with which we have traditional economic relations, such as Austria, Italy, Switzerland, Finland and Germany."

Imre Degen then stressed the fact that "The Hungarian delegation is glad of this opportunity to restore and extend commercial and economic relations with the countries of the Near, Far and Middle East participating in the Conference. By shipping to them machines and industrial equipment, we could contribute to the advancement of industry in economically backward countries and strengthen our peaceful economic relations with them."

The head of the Hungarian delegation continued: "The rapid development of the Hungarian people's economy and the rise in the production standards of our agriculture enable us to make available for export to the West not only industrial goods but also agricultural products in growing quantities.

"Today we are manufacturing over four times as many machines as we did in 1938, and are therefore able to export scores of high-grade heavy industrial products, machines and equipment, including installations for food factories, hydraulic power machines, machine tools, and others. We could also export considerable quantities of vehicles and means of transportation of a quality respected even in the most distant overseas markets. Various products of the electrical industry are also an important part of our export items.

"It is not our wish, however, merely to sell more than ever before on foreign markets. We can be important buyers in the Western countries too. In the event of economic relations respecting mutual economic interests, we could purchase various machine tools, machines for the building industry and precision instruments on the Western markets. We could also increase our cotton yarn, wool, synthetic fibres, leather and wood imports from these countries. Our country's living standard is

constantly increasing, and with it the demand for goods such as coffee, cocoa and spices, all import items.

"We estimate that about half of the goods to be imported by us from overseas and the Western European countries in the course of the next three years would be raw materials, about one quarter machines and tools and one quarter other industrial products.

"Because of our consistant effort to normalize international commercial relations we propose a considerable increase in the volume of our trade with the Western countries before the end of this year and offer immediate delivery of industrial and transportation equipment.

"Our delegation is of the opinion that if our country received adequate guarantees of good faith, we could conclude long-term agreements with the Western countries."

Mr. Degen then pointed out that representatives from several countries had brought up the question of financial settlement at the first meeting of the committee. He stated: "Hungary is prepared to accept payment for export goods in the currency of the country she is dealing with, provided that she can use this currency for buying in the importing country."

In concluding, Mr. Degen said: "The International Economic Conference is facing great tasks. We must take advantage of this unequalled opportunity for personal discussion of views by representatives from a number of countries in all parts of the world who are of the most diversified occupations and of widely differing political convictions. With a basis of mutual understanding and confidence, they can create fruitful relations of economic cooperation based on equality and mutual advantages among the peoples of the world."

THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE HAS SHOWN EXTENSIVE OPPORTUNITIES FOR BROADENING OUR FOREIGN TRADE RELATIONS

The Moscow Radio broadcast the following statement by Mr. Imre Degen, head of the Hungarian delegation to the Moscow International Economic Conference:

"The International Economic Conference has fully lived up to expectations. The trade agreements concluded have made it clear to practically all the participants of the Conference that if artificial barriers are eliminated, international trade can be increased to a multiple of its present volume.

"In the event of a return to normalcy in international trade relations, the Soviet Union, China, the European people's democracies and the German Democratic Republic could increase the volume of their trade withe the Western European, overseas, Middle-Eastern and South-Eastern Asiatic countries to nearly three times the present volume in two or three years. This would mean an increase in value of approximately 100 billion rubles. The participants were able to gain a picture of the harmful effects of the existing restrictions in international trade on the economic life of the countries from the reports of the businessmen and economists of the capitalist countries.

"The direct negotiations arranged between the Hungarian delegation and the representative of the economic circles of the number of other countries — including Austria, Western German, Switzerland, Italy, Iran, Indonesia, Burma, Mexico and

Brazil — have shown how extensive the opportunities for broadening our foreign trade relations are.

"The Conference afforded us more than the opportunity to extend trade with the capitalist countries. It also resulted in the broadening of our economic relations with the friendly countries, above all the Soviet Union, which are the mainstay of the development of our people's economy.

"The Moscow Economic Conference has done good and fruitful work. It is not the conclusion, but an important phase in the endeavor towards peaceful constructive cooperation between the peoples, a movement which is developing and growing all over the world and encompassing ever broader masses of people. The results achieved by the conference deal a heavy blow to those who wish to prevent a healthy growth of world trade. The participants took a united stand, regardless of political convictions, against different economic restrictions. The Hungarian delegation took an active part in the work of the Conference."

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November 5, 1952

MEMO, SAC:

cc: 100-17289 (PAMPHLET & PERIODICAL) 100-16390 (CP BRIEF)
100-1166 (E. C. GREENFIELD) 100-19935 (NNLC)
100-421 (GUS HALL) 100-16463 (POLITICAL)
100-17947 (STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY) 100-15976 (FUNDS)

[redacted] furnished the writer on August 25, 1952, with the June-July, 1952, issue of the "Ohio People's Tribune," Volume I, No. 8, issued by the Ohio Communist Party, 2226 East 55th Street, Cleveland, Ohio, and received by the informant on July 15, 1952. This issue carries articles concerning the Negro Labor Council job fights in Cleveland, an editorial on the steel strike, a photograph of GUS HALL with an article concerning his candidacy for United States Senator from Ohio, and a pen drawing of E. C. GREENFIELD along with an article concerning his candidacy for Governor of the State of Ohio. b7D

This issue also carries several columns concerning the United Auto Workers, the rubber workers, the steel workers, and a comment on the CP Fund Drive.

This issue of the "Ohio People's Tribune" will be placed in the informant's file, [redacted] b7D

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PMB:CGP cgp
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Ohio People's Tribune

FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

Vol. 2, No. 8 — Issued by Ohio Communist Party, 2226 E. 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio — June-July, 1952

Negro Labor Council Opens Jobs Fight

By JIM GRAY

Almost daily we hear over the radio and read in the newspapers that "defense of America is everybody's job." This imperialist slogan tries to use the democratic, peaceful desires of the people for war.

But the real defense of our country must have as a central feature: Defend and demand the right of Negro women to get decent jobs — this is a slogan of all decent Americans.

JOBS FOR NEGRO WOMEN

The Cleveland Negro Labor Council has launched a fight for jobs for Negro women at Sears, Roebuck and Co. In an interview with management, this is what a CNLC committee was told: "We employ no Negro sales people. We employ no Negro office workers."

The Sears' official attempted to point to three or four decent jobs held by Negroes to explain the "incident" that his sales and office force is lily-white. "No qualified Negro applicants have applied for these jobs when they are open," so said the Sears' manager. "We employ about 350 people and between 40 to 50 of these are Negroes," he said, but he didn't explain where he hides these Negro employees.

An Editorial

All Out Solidarity in the Steel Strike

As we go to press, the steel companies have launched a new offensive against the workers they forced out on strike. They not only refuse to grant, retroactive to January 1st, adequate overtime for Saturdays and Sundays, and the union shop — they also want contract

Put America's Factories To Work for Peace

By A. PAULL

In March, 1950, manufacturers' inventories (goods piled up unsold or unused in warehouses) were valued at 28 billion, 400 million dollars. This was on the *eve* of the Korean War.

In March ,1952, after one and one half years of war against the Korean people, manufacturers' inventories amounted to 42 billion, 300 million dollars — *an almost 50% increase!*

While the inventories pile up, consumers goods industries are producing much below last year's level.

And all is far from well with the industries producing for war. According to the Cleveland Press of May 28th, Tell Berna, general manager of the National Machine Tool Builders Assn., has begun to complain about unstable and unpredictable conditions in his industry.

In March alone reported Berna, cancellation of orders were equivalent to 34% of new orders, and cancellations were continuing in substantial volume. He said that Britain recently cancelled an order for 100 machines, and then ordered 75 others. Many cancellations were occuring when orders were almost completed.

What accounts for this condition which, according to Berna, is harassing the industry?

CAPITALISM BRINGS CRISIS!

pone the outbreak of crises, usually until after the war. Then it would attempt to put off the crisis by production to catch up with all the needs created by the ravages of war.

This never prevented crisis, as we know from all past history. All it did was to result in war and deeper crises afterwards. And as capitalism grew older, it began to depend more and more on war production and war to get it out of economic difficulties. War, and the ability to make war, became more and more decisive for capitalist production.

PEACE AND PEOPLE'S WELFARE

Today, matters are different.

Today, capitalism's ability to start was has been greatly reduced. Two world wars have

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cc: 100-11060 (POLISH ACTIVITIES) 100-19222 (WORLD PEACE CONGRESS)
100-17267 (INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)

[redacted] furnished the writer on October 3, 1952, with a two-page mimeographed leaflet captioned "A Program of New Polish Films," including: b7D

(1) "Today's Poland"

(2) "New Art"

(3) "Peace Will Win"

This list was furnished the informant by the Polish Embassy, Washington, D. C., and contains a review of the above-captioned films.

This leaflet will be placed in the informant's file, [redacted] b7D

b6
b7C
[redacted]
SA

PMB:CGP
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b7D

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b7D

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A P R O G R A M

of

N E W P O L I S H F I L M S

I. Polska Dzisiejsza
(Today's Poland)

II. Nowa Sztuka
(New Art)

III. Peace Will Win

Polish Embassy

Friday, December 7, 1951

I. POLSKA DZISIEJSZA (Today's Poland)

Poland's national holiday commemorates the issuance on July 22, 1944 of the Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation.

Events on National Day this year included the start of production at the Odra Cement Works, largest in Europe; completion of new sections of the Marszalkowska housing project in Warsaw; and the opening of the capital's largest department store.

Other events shown in the film include the unveiling on July 21 of a monument to Feliks Dzierzynski, Polish working class leader who was also one of the leaders in the October Revolution in the Soviet Union, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his death; the arrival in Warsaw of Vice Premier V. M. Molotov and Marshal G. K. Zhukov of the USSR; the formal meeting held in Warsaw's Teatr Polski to mark National Day; and the parade and review in Dzierzynski Square.

II. NOWA SZTUKA (New Art)

In the spring of 1950 the first annual all-Polish exhibition of plastic arts was held in Warsaw. First prize went to "Peace Frontier", by the sculptor Alfred Wisniewski. Theme of the show: Art teaches and educates; it is an instrument for peace and a better tomorrow; it is based on faith in mankind. On the other hand, some examples of western art demonstrate a loss not only of human form but also of all human content.

First prize in the painting section of the Warsaw exhibition was won by Wojciech Weiss for his "Manifesto".

The new art in Poland has as its subjects man at work and rest, man as part of the family, man on the road to knowledge and science, man in the struggle for peace and against death and annihilation.

III. PEACE WILL WIN

The World Peace Congress was held in Warsaw from November 16 to November 22, 1950. Co-directors of the film of that historic event were Joris Ivens and Jerzy Szelubski.

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Epstein 3.00
~~[illegible]~~

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ILLEGIBLE (BLEED THROUGH PAGE)

211

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

November 5, 1952

MEMO, SAC:

cc: 100-18760 (PROGRESSIVE PARTY) 100-11731 (PAULINE TAYLOR)
100-18406 (DON ROTHENBERG) 100-16463 (POLITICAL)
100-19935 (NNLC) 100-18972 (MEL MITCHELL)

[redacted] furnished the writer on October 3, 1952, with the following items of literature concerning the Progressive Party: b7D

1. A 4 page lithographed leaflet captioned "Your Vote Can Stop the War in Korea Now!" which concerns the Progressive Party campaign in behalf of VINCENT HALLINAN and Mrs. CHARLOTTA BASS, which was received by informant September 19, 1952.

2. A 2 page mimeographed throw-away issued weekly by the Progressive Party of Ohio, instant issue being No. 32 dated September 8, 1952, and received by informant on September 12, 1952. This issue of the "Independent" deals primarily with the Progressive Party national campaign and mentions, in addition, the Cleveland Labor Council's job campaign against Sears Roebuck and Company.

3. A 1 page mimeographed leaflet on the stationery of the Progressive Party of Ohio announcing the presence of Dr. W. E. B. DUBOIS in Cleveland on Tuesday, October 7, 1952. This item was received by informant on September 15, 1952.

4. A one page mimeographed throw-away issued by the Progressive Party concerning the advocacy of the extension of rent control in Cleveland. This item was also received by informant on September 15, 1952.

PMB:CGP

4 [redacted]

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
1952
FBI - CLEVELAND

b7D

[redacted]

MEMO, SAC:

5. A 3x6 inch card lithographed, issued by the Progressive Party, 5103 Euclid Avenue, announcing the appearance of Dr. W. E. B. DUBOIS at the St. Paul AME Church, Tuesday, October 7, 1952, which was received by informant on October 2, 1952.

6. A 1 page lithographed throw-away announcing DUBOIS' appearance at the St. Paul AME Church on October 7, 1952. This was also received by informant on October 2, 1952.

7. A 1 page mimeographed letter issued by MEL MITCHELL, Chairman, and DON ROTHENBERG, Executive Secretary, of the Progressive Party of Ohio mentioning preparations for the W. E. B. DUBOIS meeting to be held October 7, 1952, in Cleveland. This was received by informant on October 2, 1952.

8. A 1 page mimeographed agenda received by informant on September 29, 1952, concerning the agenda of the Executive Board meeting of the Progressive Party of Ohio to be held October 1, 1952, at 5103 Euclid Avenue.

9. A 2 page mimeographed letter by the Progressive Party of Ohio dated September 18, 1952, issued by MEL MITCHELL and DON ROTHENBERG regarding the public hearing to be held on rent control in the City of Cleveland by the City Council on September 17. Attached to this letter is a mimeographed list of the members of the Cleveland City Council with their home addresses and home telephone numbers for use by the Progressive Party workers favoring rent control. This letter was received by the informant on September 19, 1952.

MEMO, SAC:

[redacted] These items will be placed in the informant's file, b7D

[redacted] b6 b7C

SA

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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

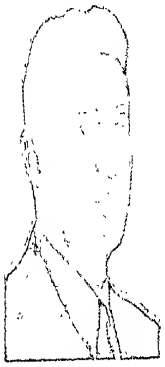
9-19-52
JGB
10/3/52

DON'T WASTE YOUR VOTE

MAKE YOUR VOTE COUNT

Only the Progressive Party Calls for an Immediate End to the War in Korea.

VOTE FOR THE PEACE CANDIDATES



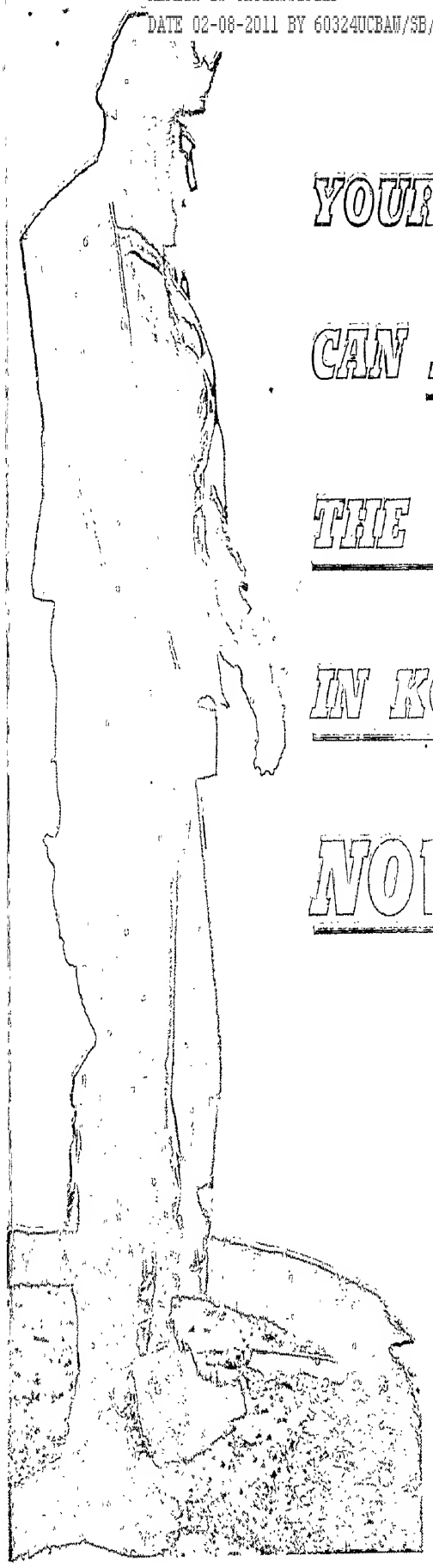
For President
VINCENT HALLINAN
Outstanding lawyer, fighter for labor's rights

For Vice-President
MRS. CHARLOTTA BASS
Nationally famous editor, fighter for Negro and women's rights

PROGRESSIVE PARTY • 5103 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland 3
HEnderson 1-3327

Pauline Taylor, Chairman
Don Rothenberg, Executive Sec'y

dpowa #87



YOUR VOTE CAN STOP THE WAR IN KOREA NOW!

WHO ever heard of a war being fought over exchanging prisoners of war?

That's what's stopping a truce in Korea right now.

More than 116,000 American casualties—more prisoners—more deaths and destruction in Korea every day.

And no end in sight.

Why?

The Gallup Poll says 70 per cent of the American people want to end the war in Korea.

But do the Republicans and Democrats—who talk "peace"—propose to end that war NOW?

Eisenhower says:

> "I do not have any prescription for bringing the Korean war to a decisive end. . . ."

Stevenson says:

> "There is, of course, no tidy solution to the Korean problem. . . ."

No wonder the United Mine Workers Journal says that neither party has answered the top question in the minds of the people—how to bring the war to an end.

Progressive Party says:

> "Stop the fighting now—talk afterwards . . . Cease fire in Korea today, without any ifs, ands, or buts . . . an immediate armistice at the agreed upon demarcation line; all disputed questions, including the exchange of war prisoners, to be settled by civilian representatives of all nations involved in the war after the fighting is over. . . ."

Why Don't They Make Peace?

The war in Korea makes profits for the big shots who finance both old parties. Profits jumped from $27 billion in 1949 to $39 billion in 1950, when the war broke out—and to $43 billion in 1951. The big corporations got new plants and tools from government tax money—YOUR MONEY. But here's what the people got since the war started:

- Highest prices in all history—food up 30%.
- Highest taxes in history—taxes up 74%.
- Wages frozen and a 10% cut in living standards.
- Cuts in low cost housing, in hospitals, in schools, and flood control.
- A new attack on civil liberties and the rights of Negro Americans and other minority groups.
- Increased draft of sons and young fathers.

If you want peace—make your vote count—don't waste it on parties that profit from war! Make your vote count—Vote against candidates who agree to keep war going! Let them know they can't just talk "peace"—they HAVE TO MAKE PEACE in Korea.

Vote for HALLINAN and BASS—the candidates who stand for peace in Korea NOW.

VOTE FOR THE PEACE CANDIDATES: For President, VINCENT HALLINAN — For Vice-President, MRS. CHARLOTTA BASS

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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

9-12-52

the independent

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF OHIO

Monday September 15, 1952
NO. 32

5103 EUCLID AVE., CLEVELAND 3, OHIO ··· HEnderson 1-3327

HALLINAN & BASS BROADCAST KOREAN PEACE PLAN

In their first nation-wide radio broadcast, Progressive Party candidates Vincent Hallinan and Charlotta Bass outlined a specific proposal for cease-fire in Korea and called upon the American people to flood the White House with wires and letters to end the war now.

Said Hallinan, "The Progressive Party offers you a program for ending the war which is direct, practical and honorable: First, declare an immediate cease-fire at the line of demarcation agreed upon. Second, appoint civilian arbitrators to settle the exchange of prisoners of war. The war can be ended today. A phone call from the White House to Korea could end it.

Describing Democratic candidate Stevenson's double-talk on FEPC, Mrs. Bass likened him to a California flea--"you feel for him one place and find him someplace else." Charging that the Democratic Party has deserted the Negro people to clasp the Dixiecrats to its bosom, Mrs. Bass spoke of the Progressive Party as a "home big enough for my people."

This historic broadcast on most NBC radio and TV stations and CBS television stations will be carried during the next two weeks on several Ohio stations which were unable to arrange time last week. Consult the schedule above for complete details.

P.P. LEADS CAMPAIGN TO SAVE RENT CONTROL

Working against a deadline only three weeks away, Progressive Party members in several Ohio cities are petitioning and urging their city councils to extend rent control beyond September 30. In Cleveland, petitioners report good response on street corners and house-to-house. ALL CLEVELAND RENT CONTROL PETITIONS SHOULD BE MAILED IN TO THE OFFICE BY MONDAY SEPTEMBER 15th.

On WEDNESDAY September 17 at 2 p.m. an open hearing on Rent Control will be held in the City Council chambers. You are urged to come to this meeting to support our County Chairman Mel Mitchell in his testimony in favor of extension.

Ward leaders are urged to phone members to turn out. Invite your neighbors and friends to come with you to the hearing.

CLEVELAND ATTORNEY FILES SUIT TO END KOREAN WAR

William W. Cavanaugh, Cleveland attorney, has filed an injunction suit against President Truman, asking the court to order all U.S. troops withdrawn from Korea. Mr. Cavanaugh charges that the President violated the Constitution by declaring war without the consent of Congress.

Over 300 Clevelanders have phoned Mr. Cavanaugh--all but two called to congratulate him for his action. Since 85% of the American people consider Peace the major issue of the election campaign, the response to Mr. Cavanaugh's suit is understandable.

Cavanaugh, whose office is in the Leader Building, is a former Army Air Force bombadier-navigator who flew 35 combat missions over Germany. He declared, "I am motivated not only as a citizen, but as a father with three children whose lives are being mortgaged by our national debt."

TV schedule for Hallinan-Bass broadcast

Saturday, September 13: WSPD-TV in Toledo at 1:30 p.m.

Wednesday, September 17: WXEL-TV in Cleveland at 8:30 p.m.

Saturday, September 20: WNBK-TV in Cleveland at 12 noon.

NOTE: Dayton's TV station WHIO has promised to carry the broadcast within the next two weeks. Dayton Progressives should check the station for exact time. Cincinnati's radio and TV station WLW has thus far refused to carry the broadcast, but we are confident they will change their mind.

9-12-52
DWB

BOYCOTT SEARS ROEBUCK

The Cleveland Labor Council has called for a boycott of Sears Roebuck and Company due to their refusal to hire Negro women sales clerks and office workers.

The Council has negotiated for four and one half months with the company for a change in their discriminatory policy, and has received the support of trade unions, the Baptist Ministerial Conference, the Negro press and many individuals.

Progressives are urged to cooperate in the following actions:

1. Don't buy at Sears.
2. Volunteer to distribute leaflets at Sears. Call EX 1-5529.
3. Join the picket line, which begins Monday, September 15 at 6 p.m.

VINCENT HALLINAN *will come to Ohio in Oct.*

Ohioans will welcome our Presidential candidate to Cleveland either Wednesday, October 22 or Sunday, October 26. A public meeting and other events will feature a crowded one-day stop in the Buckeye state. Watch THE INDEPENDENT for details.

EXPLANATION TO OUR READERS:

For two weeks, financial and technical difficulties have prevented the printing and mailing of THE INDEPENDENT. These problems have been temporarily solved and, with your financial assistance, the INDEPENDENT will be mailed regularly to our 2000 readers every week.

BRING CLEVELAND TENANTS TO PUBLIC HEARING ON RENT CONTROL

CITY HALL
E. 6 & LAKESIDE
City Council Chambers
Second floor
WEDNESDAY SEPT. 17
2:00 P.M.

15 DAYS TO REGISTER

To vote November 4th you must be registered by September 24. You must register if you have never registered before in Ohio or if you did not vote in 1950 or 1951. You must transfer your registration if you have moved since the last time you voted. The Board of Elections at 1000 Superior (E. 9th and Superior) is open from 8:30 a.m. to 4:30 p.m. Monday through Friday and 8:30 a.m. to noon on Saturday.

Calendar of Events

SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 13: Reception for WILLIAM L. PATTERSON, Civil Rights Congress National Secretary, at the home of Mrs. Mary Turner, 1444 East 111th.

SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 14: Nationality Press Picnic at Veterans Grove, 2137 Ridgewood in Parma. From noon until dark. Hear WILLIAM L. PATTERSON. Barbecued ribs, music, nationality foods.

WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 17: Rent Control hearing at Cleveland City Council Chambers, Lakeside at E. 6th (2nd floor, City Hall) at 2:00 p.m.

WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 17: See HALLINAN and BASS on WXEL-TV at 8:30 p.m.

WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 17: Executive Board Meeting at Progressive Party office, 5103 Euclid, 8:30 p.m.

FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 19: John Brown Singers, 924 East 123rd at 8:30 p.m. All those interested in joining the singing group are welcome.

SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 20: See HALLINAN and BASS on WNBK-TV at 12 noon.

SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 20: PP Party, place to be announced.

SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 28: PP State Committee meeting in Canton, Ohio.

STORK SALE: Playpen, Thayer baby carriage, Toidee Seat, swing, wicker stroller, Taylor Tot. Very reasonable. Proceeds go to Progressive Party. Call RA 1-5029.

CALL THE OFFICE. HE 1-3327, FOR NAMES OF PROGRESSIVES TO GO OUT WITH YOU FOR PETITION SIGNATURES. The best time to talk to people is early evening, during the week, and at stores and markets all day Saturday.

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9-15-52

PROGRESSIVE PARTY of OHIO

5103 Euclid Ave Cleveland 3 Ohio HEnderson 1-3327

We Present

DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS

in Cleveland, Tuesday October 7

come to the

Executive Board Meeting

WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 17

8:30 P.M.

* TO HELP PLAN THE BIG PUBLIC MEETING FOR THIS NOTED SCHOLAR, HISTORIAN, AND OUTSTANDING LEADER OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

* TO DISCUSS THE CITY COUNCIL HEARING ON RENT CONTROL BEING HELD THAT AFTERNOON.

* REPORT ON DON'S TOUR OF THE STATE AND PROGRESS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

dpowa 87

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9-15-72

YOUR RENT WILL BE RAISED OCTOBER 1

UNLESS YOU

1. ATTEND CITY COUNCIL HEARING ON RENT CONTROL - BRING YOUR FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS

   CITY HALL, 2ND FLOOR
   LAKESIDE AT E. 6

   WEDNESDAY SEPT. 17, 2:00 P.M.

2. CALL OR WRITE YOUR COUNCILMAN <u>DEMANDING</u> THAT HE VOTE <u>FOR EXTENSION</u> OF RENT CONTROL

KEEP RENT CONTROL

PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF OHIO 5103 EUCLID AVE.

you are invited to hear ..... **Dr. W. E. B. DuBOIS**

"THE NEGRO VOTER & THE ELECTIONS"

St. Paul AME Church
East 55th and Quincy
TUESDAY - OCT. 7 - 8 p.m.

10-2-52

Progressive Party—5103 Euclid Avenue, Ro

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10-2-52
J.C.B. Pm 8 15/3/52

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hear

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, 83 year old scholar, was a founder of the NAACP and for 22 years edited their magazine "The Crisis."

Dr. DuBois speaks out everywhere for an immediate cease-fire in the senseless Korean war. His years of leadership in the determined campaign for full equality make him well qualified to speak on the subject "The Negro Voter and the 1952 Elections."

You are cordially invited to meet this great world citizen.

'The Negro voter and the 1952 elections'

at ... St. Paul A.M.E. Zion Church
East 55th and Quincy
TUESDAY — OCTOBER 7 — 8 p.m.

auspices... Progressive Party of Ohio
5103 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland
HEnderson 1 — 3327

Mrs. Pauline Taylor, Chairman
Don Rothenberg, State Director

ADMISSION FREE

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are elections really FREE in Ohio?

DID YOU KNOW THAT DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN POLITICIANS AND THEIR SUPPORTERS HAVE MADE SURE THAT NO NEW PARTY OR INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES WOULD APPEAR ON THE OHIO BALLOT ?

here are the facts....

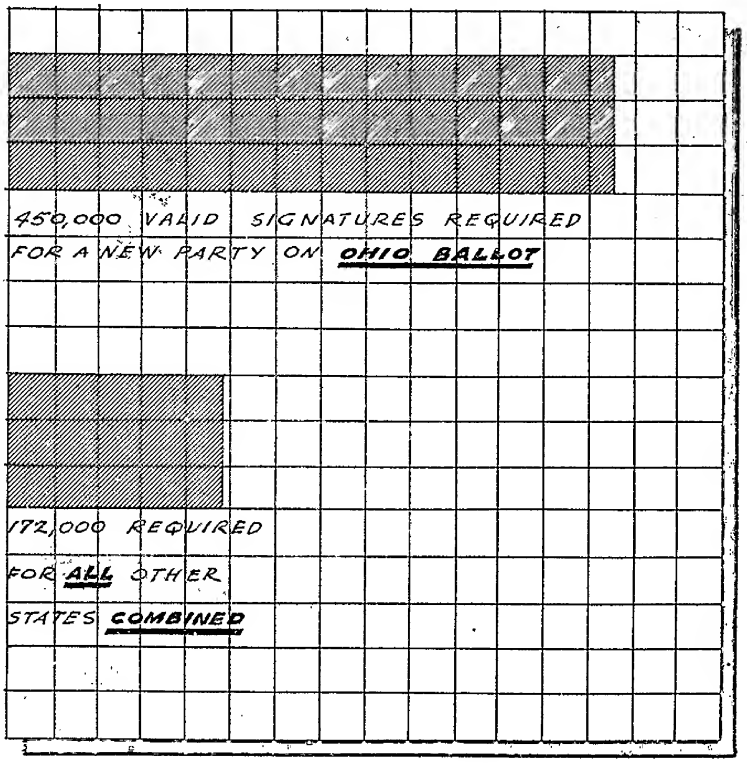
Vincent Hallinan of California and Mrs. Charlotta Bass of New York are the Progressive Party candidates for President and Vice-President.

Their program is simple and specific: End the war in Korea now. A full civil rights program. Repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. Use our tax money for new homes, hospitals and roads instead of planes, tanks and guns.

The Republicans and Democrats fear this program. They have changed the Ohio election law to keep these candidates off the ballot and to force judges to run in the partisan primaries.

The Progressive Party of Ohio pledges a relentless fight to change this law. You can help by writing to Governor Lausche to return, free elections to Ohio.

If our court action to place Hallinan and Bass on the Ohio ballot is unsuccessful, WE URGE YOU TO WRITE-IN THE NAMES OF VINCENT HALLINAN and CHARLOTTA BASS on NOVEMBER 4th.



SUPPORT THE FIGHT FOR A FREE BALLOT IN OHIO!

PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF OHIO
5103 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland 3
HEnderson 1-3327

Pauline Taylor, Chairman
Don Rothenberg, Executive Sec'y
dpowa #87

10-2-52

PROGRESSIVE PARTY of OHIO

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5103 Euclid Ave Cleveland 3 Ohio HEnderson 1-3327

October 1, 1952

Dear Friend:

Your help is urgently needed in the last week of preparation for the public meeting featuring Dr. W.E.B. DuBois and his wife, Shirley Graham DuBois, next Tuesday, October 7th.

The Cleveland Call & Post carries a front page story this week announcing the DuBois meeting and we expect publicity in the other local papers. We are arranging for a radio interview and possibly a television interview with Dr. DuBois BUT the only guarantee of attendance next Tuesday is the work that you and I do in the next few days.

Enclosed are 10 invitations to the DuBois meeting. Will you personally give these invitations to 10 friends and neighbors and wherever possible, get a contribution of 50¢ or more to help pay for the cost of the meeting?

Secondly, will you start a chain phone call among your friends asking each of them to call 5 friends?

Third, will you call our office to volunteer for a leaflet distribution at one of the major plant gates during the next few days and at churches on Sunday?

With your cooperation we are confident that next Tuesday's meeting will be a fitting tribute to two great citizens.

Fraternally,

Melbourne B. Mitchell

Melbourne B. Mitchell, Chairman

Don Rothenberg

Don Rothenberg, Executive Secretary

MM/DR/ab
dpowa 87

Encl.

dpowa87

9-29-52
JHB

PROGRESSIVE PARTY of OHIO

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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

5103 Euclid Ave Cleveland 3 Ohio HEnderson 1-3327

September 27, 1952

REMEMBER, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 1 at 8:30 p.m.

E X E C U T I V E B O A R D M E E T I N G

5103 Euclid, Room 3

AGENDA

1. DuBois Meeting, October 7 at St. Paul A.M.E. Church, Quincy & 55th
2. Hallinan Meeting, Friday October 17 at Studio One, WHK, 5000 Euclid
3. Proposal for a "Peace Vigil" at Democratic & Republican Headquarters
4. Payne for Congress campaign
5. Report on State Committee Meeting

dpowa87

4-19-52
JHB.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF OHIO

5103 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland 3 Ohio
HE. 1-3327

September 18, 1952

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

Dear Friend:

You and I as tenants face the grave threat of a large rent increase unless we act together immediately.

On Wednesday, September 17, the City Council held a public hearing on rent control. The hall was packed with landlords, who had been organized by the real estate interests in Cleveland. They booed, hissed, and shouted at speakers who spoke the truth about our critical housing shortage here. Although some excellent testimony was given in favor of rent control, there were very few tenants in the room to show our support.

We have another chance to save rent control: this MONDAY, September 22 at 10 a.m. the Council will hold another public hearing on rent control. I urge you to be at the hearing, at City Council Chambers in the City Hall on East 6th and Lakeside.

If you cannot be there in the morning, come to the full meeting of City Council on Monday evening at 7 O'clock, when the final vote will be taken on rent control.

The Progressive Party is working hard to save rent control because we know as you do that working people just can't afford an increase in rents. There IS a housing shortage, there are very few new rental units available and those which have been built in the last ten years are way beyond the income of most of us. Hundreds of Clevelanders have joined you in signing our petitions to extend rent control. BUT NOW WE FACE THE DOUBLE DANGER OF EITHER AN END TO RENT CONTROL OR A COMPROMISE PROPOSAL TO EXTEND RENT CONTROL BUT INCREASE RENTS 20%. We want no compromise!

As you can see from the enclosed leaflet, the Progressive Party has a specific, positive program for the election campaign and for the future. We believe that our problems of high prices, high taxes, and frozen wages are the direct result of the senseless war in Korea which has already cost us 116,000 casualties and over 10 billion dollars.

We ask you to read this literature, but we emphasize that on a vital matter like rent control, all citizens, regardless of their political beliefs, should work together for the common good.

I look forward to seeing you at City Council this Monday, either at 10 a.m. or 7 p.m. If you cannot be there, be sure to call your councilman. His name and phone number is enclosed for your convenience.

Fraternally,

Mel Mitchell ab
Mel Mitchell
County Chairman

Don Rothenberg
Don Rothenberg
State Director

MM/a
DR/a
dpowa 87

9-19-52
96B

CLEVELAND CITY COUNCIL - 1952

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DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

WARD 1	Richard M. Masterson	10101 Nanford Rd.	MElrose 1-2678
2	Stephen Suhajcik	3204 W. 90th	WInton 1-2656
3	Joseph E. Flannery	7017 Colgate	ATlantic 1-6996
4	William J. Hart	17138 Lorain	ORchard 1-8181
5	Sam Brooks	3911 Carlyle	WOodbine 1-1763
6	Walter E. Berkebile	3275 W. 17th	FLorida 1-5314
7	John T. Bilinski	1420 Castle	PRospect 1-4643
8	Thomas F. McCafferty	4611 Franklin Blvd.	WOodbine 1-1726
9	Frank Witthuhn	3704 Biddulph	ONtario 1-5435
		Business phone:	SHadyside 1-1978
10	Joseph Horwitz	3578 East 154th	LOngacre 1-8715
11	Jean Murrell Capers	2380 E. 40th	ENdicott 1-3479
		Business phone:	EXpress 1-9[illegible]
12	Herman H. Finkle	336 B. of L.E.	MAin 1-6616
13	Stanley Szymanski	5325 Fleet	VUlcan 3-0039
14	Bronis Klementowicz	6823 Indiana	VUlcan 3-1665
		Business phone:	MAin 1-6094
15	William J. Rogers	12916 Hoy	MIchigan 1-2569
16	Jack P. Russell	8916 Buckeye	TYler 1-3636
17	Charles V. Carr	2270 E. 55th	EXpress 1-3712
18	Harold T. Gassaway	2317 E. 85th	GArfield 1-2687
		Business phone:	MAin 1-8024
19	George A. Costello	504 N.B.C. Bldg.	MAin 1-0783
20	Richard W. Zingler	1628 Crawford	CEdar 1-6724
21	David C. Murphy	1432 Ansel	CEdar 1-8738
22	Margaret McCaffery	1607 E. 78th	HEnderson 1-4412
23	Edward J. Kovacic	7308 Hecker	HEnderson 1-3011
24	Harry T. Marshall	11804 Shadeland	GLenville 1-6808
		Business phone:	MAin 1-4357
25	Harry Jaffe	1301 East Blvd.	SWeetbriar 1-3690
		Business phone:	CHerry 1-4727
26	Lawrence W. Duggan	1721 Wickford	IVanhoe 1-1892
27	Irwyn P. Metzenbaum	11310 Hopkins	GLenville 1-9450
28	Joseph W. Kovach	3553 E. 82nd	BRoadway 1-0038
29	Mary K. Sotak	11120 Lardet	GArfield 1-6762
30	Earnest A. Atkinson	4132 E. 147th	WAshington 1-0857
31	Alfred C. Grisanti	1205 St. Clair	TOwer 1-2298
		Business phone:	SUperior 1-3995
32	John A. Fakult	18611 Kildeer	IVanhoe 1-5298
33	James Donnelly	18301 Ponciana	CLearwater 1-3943

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CMW

November 5, 1952

MEMO, SAC:

cc: 100-19520 (AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE)
100-19424 (NETTA BERMAN)
100-12775 (NORMAN BERMAN)
100-19855 (COMMITTEE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FAR EASTERN POLICY)

[redacted] furnished the writer on October 3, 1952, a one page mimeographed announcement concerning a "Party for Peace" by MAUD RUSSEL, who was to lecture on her twenty years in China as a YWCA secretary on October 4, 1952, at the home of NETTA and NORMAN BERMAN, 10818 Orville Avenue. b7D

This lecture was sponsored by the Cleveland Chapter of the American Peace Crusade. This announcement was received by the informant on October 2, 1952.

This leaflet will be placed in informant's file, [redacted] b7D

b6
b7C
[redacted]
SA

PMB:CGP
[redacted] b7D

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
1952
FBI - CLEVELAND
b7D

[redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 02-08-2011 BY 60324UCBAW/SB/CHW

10-2-52
H.C.B.

PARTY for PEACE

COME
and
MEET
and
HEAR

MAUD RUSSELL

celebrated lecturer

20 YEARS IN CHINA as a YWCA SECRETARY

OCTOBER 4th

NETTA and NORM BERMAN

10818 Orville Avenue

DANCING - DRINKS - REFRESHMENT FREE

DONATION

Sponsored: cleveland chapter
AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

Labor Donated